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Malile Leaves for UN Debate in Geneva

AU1212192988 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 12 Dec 88

[Text] Reis Malile, minister of foreign affairs of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, left for Geneva today. He will take part in the proceedings of the UN General Assembly, which will discuss the Palestinian question.

Trade Delegation Departs for Romania 9 Dec

AU0912195088 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 9 Dec 88

[Text] A government trade delegation of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania left today for the Socialist Republic of Romania. The delegation is led by Minister of Finances Andrea Nako.

The delegation was seen off at Rinas Airport by Shane Korbeci, minister of foreign trade, and other comrades. Gheorghe Pop, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Socialist Republic of Romania, was also present.

Radio Television Delegation Departs for Greece

AU0712134988 Tirana ATA in English 0920 GMT 7 Dec 88

[Text] Tirana, December 7 (ATA)—At the invitation of the Greek Radio - Television a delegation of the Albanian Radio - Television, headed by the general director, Sefedin Cela, left on an official visit to Greece, on December 6.

TV Protocol Signed

AU0912125788 Tirana ATA in English 0750 GMT 9 Dec 88

[Text] Tirana, December 9 (ATA)—In implementation of the agreement on cooperation between the Albanian and Greek Radiotelevisions, the protocol between the two institutions for 1989-1990 was signed in Athens on December 8. For the Albanian side the protocol was signed by the director general of the Radiotelevision, Sefendin Cela, and for the Greek side by the president of the leading council, Andonis Kovaios [title as received]. The signing ceremony was attended also by the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania, Izedin Hajdini.

The program envisages exchanges of radiophonic and TV programs, film shooting groups, the mutual participation in the cultural, artistic activities, etc.

During its stay in Athens the delegation of the Albanian Radiotelevision was received by the deputy minister at the premier's office, Dhimitris Maroudhas.

Protests Against 'Chauvinist' SFRY Press

AU0712162088 Tirana DRITA in Albanian 27 Nov 88 p 14-15

[Ismail Kadare article: "After a Meeting of Balkan Writers"]

[Excerpts] As is well known, Balkan countries have recently been making noticeable attempts to draw closer to each other, in order to get to know each other better, overcome various misunderstandings, and, by common action, turn the great but troubled Balkan peninsula into a region of peace.

In fact, it has been true for a long time, not to say for almost a century, that the words "peace" and "Balkan" have looked odd when put next to each other, almost oxymoronic. The phrase "The Balkans are a powder keg" has dominated and still dominates political and historical literature, and even when writers have tried to express something different, they have found phrases related in some way to it, such as "Let us dampen the powder in the keg of the Balkans."

It is true that this old peninsula of wars has been a powder keg in recent times as well, but it is equally true that the fuses have not always been laid by the peninsula's householders themselves. Moreover, Balkan countries themselves are showing increasing determination in helping to realize the age-old dream of the inhabitants of the Balkans for a free life in peace.

This is an appropriate place to underline that the efforts of the Balkan governments, however well intentioned, cannot be successful if they are not accompanied by joint efforts on the part of all other forces in society to emancipate the great and varied culture of the Balkan peninsula, one of the finest and deepest cultures of world civilization, past and present. It is a noble duty for men of knowledge, writers, philosophers, sociologists, and all the creative intelligentsia, to help dispel the "ill winds," as people call them today, from this part of Europe. It will be to their honor and glory if they do this, and it will be to their shame if they do the opposite, a disgrace from which neither their talent, their knowledge, nor their diplomacy will be able to save them.

Within this framework of good understanding and efforts to get to know each other, the SFRY Writers League Presidium organized a meeting of Balkan writers in Bor in Yugoslavia, in which I took part, together with Dritero Agolli as a representative of Albanian culture and literature.

The initiative for this meeting was good, and must be said that the gathering justified itself from every point of view. We got to know and talked at length with our Greek, Bulgarian, Romanian, Turkish, and Hungarian colleagues, as well as with our hosts, Serbian, Slovenian, Croatian, Montenegrin, and Macedonian writers. We also spoke in the sessions of this meeting, and presented our viwepoints on the literatures of the Balkan countries, their common values and aspirations, and the paths they must take toward further emancipation, particularly in a merciless struggle against nationalist and chauvinist psychoses, these primitive stains without whose removal their can be no progress and true civilization. [passage omitted]

Liberating themselves from chauvinist blindness is an urgent task for all those Balkan writers who still suffer from it. If they can succeed in rising above prejudices and racial and chauvinist barriers and passions, then they may forthrightly declare that they have eliminated the first and perhaps most stubborn symptom of provincialism.

We presented these ideas, as well as specific facts showing how chauvinism has always been isolated and outlawed in the past 2 centuries of Albanian literature, to the all-Balkan audience in Bor. Our speeches aroused special interest, as the Yugoslav media mentioned several times. Our Balkan colleagues, including the Yugoslavs, indicated their sympathy with the theories we put forward, and mentioned them several times in the discussion.

However, the speeches and views of the representatives of Albanian literature did not, it seems, suit some people. Our lectures, conversations, and interviews stepped outside the stereotyped ideas about Albanian literature and culture that a section of the Yugoslav press is attempting to spread among its readers. This section of the press therefore tried to supply its readers with an explanation of the deceit it has previously served up. This explanation was as crude and hypocritical, as articles in the form of an interview normally are, when these interviews are not carried out when the subjects are present, but when they have gone. The magazine DANAS and the newspaper BORBA asked for interviews, which they published more or less in full (I would rather consider the occasional imprecision in the latter to be a translator's lapse). Meanwhile, the correspondent of DUGA, a certain Sekulic, waited for the Albanian writers to leave before obtaining an interview about them from none other than Miodrag Bulatovic, with whom, as is well known, we have been engaged in a rather bitter controversy in the press.

As an introduction to the "interview," DUGA wrote in a sensationalist way that "the great Albanian writers" came to Bor, but "with totally changed attitudes." Not a word about "Kosovo—Republic!" Not a word against Bulatovic, the leader of Serbian chauvinism, not a word about chauvinist Serbian history," and so forth. [quotation marks as received] According to DUGA's introduction, the Albanian writers were even in favor of the constitutional changes in Serbia, and were on the verge of coming out against the culture of Kosovo!

Leaving aside these latter comments, which can only raise a laugh as the product of a diseased mind, it emerges from the first part of the introduction that someone was impatiently waiting for the Albanian writers at the Bor meeting to shout "Kosovo—Republic!" and so on and so forth, instead of discussing the issues of Balkan literature which were the reason why the gathering was held. They anxiously waited for this, so that they could start howling in their now familiar way: Look! The Albanian writers have come to destroy peace in the Balkans and set the powder keg alight, and so on and so forth.

Had we discussed the subject, we would of course have expressed our opinion on Kosovo and everything connected with it, just as we have always done whether before the Albanian, Balkan, or world public. This is so much the case that, during these very days of the Bor meeting, the interview given to the magazine DANAS explicitly states:

"Question: There (in the French paper LE MONDE—my note—I.K.) you welcomed the idea of a republic for Kosovo.

"I. Kadare's answer: I have considered it a normal demand. You may have one opinion, I another."

The so-called interview in DUGA is an unparalleled article of hysteria, an example of distortion, abuse, and total lack of culture. To request an autograph (a normal courtesy in a writer's life) and interpret it as a sign of political compromise is to show that you are still at a miserable cultural level.

Miodrag Bulatovic, former president of the Writers League of Serbia, was one of the hosts and a prominent figure among those who received us at Bor. Despite the harsh blow he dealt us in the press, he behaved properly in his role as host, and we responded to his courtesy in like fashion.

In his speech at Bor and in the press, he made appreciative remarks about representatives of Albanian literature ("They demonstrate enviable qualities") and about the Albanian people in general. However, after we had left, he had the unfortunate idea, either himself or at someone else's prompting, of placing an intolerable price on these statements: the denigration of the culture of the Albanians who live in Kosovo and their literature and civilization.

It is obvious to everybody that such a bargain, apart from anything else, is mean and unworthy of anybody, least of all a well-known writer. We have expressed our opinion about Kosovo and assessed its culture and its distinguished writers and thinkers in every honest way open to literature. The first rule of such honesty is to affirm one's own culture without disparaging anybody else's. As soon as this principle is violated, all dialogue collapses. On this occasion, it must be said that passionate attacks against the culture of another people are often caused by an inferiority complex and a lack of confidence in one's one culture.

We sincerely regret that such things should happen among Balkan writers. Balkan writers have many more great tasks ahead of them and have no reason to display their outstanding energies and talents on such a cheap and vulgar stall as chauvinism. We trust, and this trust is genuine and not the routine peroration of a speech or article, that those few remaining Balkan writers who are still obsessed by chauvinism will free themselves from it, because this sickness stultifies the brain, clouds vision, and ruins talent. Apart from the incident I have mentioned, the meeting in Bor increased this confidence.

Economic Progress Report for 4 - 10 Dec 88

AU1012194388 [Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian in its transmissions between 4-10 December carries the following economic performance reports (sourceline of each report given in parentheses):

Gjirokaster District: The 11-month industrial production plan was fulfilled by 101 percent. (Tirana Domestic Albanian 1900 GMT 6 December)

Gramsh District: The overall industrial output plan for the 11-month period was exceeded by 1.1 million leks. (Tirana Domestic Albanian 1900 GMT 9 December)

Leaders' Public Appearances for 26 Nov-2 Dec 88

AU0212153388 [Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian in its broadcasts between 26 November - 2 December reports the following public appearances of Albanian leaders (sourceline of each report given in parentheses):

Adil Carcani, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the Council of Ministers; Lenka Cuko, Hekuran Isai, Manush Myftiu, Rita Marko, and Simon Stefani, AWP Central Committee Politburo members; Kico Mustaqi, Llambi Gegprifti, and Pirro Kondi, AWP Central Committee Politburo candidate members, attended on 28 November a solemn meeting in Tirana to commemorate Independence Day and Liberation Day. (Tirana Domestic Albanian 1900 GMT 28 November)

Ramiz Alia, AWP Central Committee first secretary and chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly visited Sarande District on 28, 29, and 30 November. (Tirana Domestic Albanian 1900 GMT 28, 29, and 30 November) (Filed as AU2811195488, AU3011104988, and AU0112120188)

Muho Asllani, AWP Central Committee Politburo member, attended a solemn meeting organized in Shkoder on the occasion of Independence Day and Liberation Day on 26 November. (Tirana Domestic Albanian 2100 GMT 26 November)

Besnik Bekteshi, AWP Central Committee Politburo member, attended an Independence Day and Liberation Day in Bajram Curri city on 28 November. (Tirana Domestic Albanian 1900 GMT 28 November)

Vangjel Cerrava, AWP Central Committee Politburo candidate member, attended a solemn meeting in Pogradec on 26 November. (Tirana Domestic Albanian 2100 GMT 26 November)

Qirjako Mihali, AWP Central Committee Politburo candidate member, attended a solemn meeting in Durres on 26 November. (Tirana Domestic Albanian 2100 GMT 26 November)

Pali Miska, AWP Central Committee Politburo member, inaugurated a new production line at the Korce food factory and attended a solemn meeting on the occasion of Independence Day and Liberation Day in Korce on 27 November. (Tirana Domestic Albanian 1900 GMT 27 November)

Leaders' Public Appearances for 2-9 Dec 88

AU0912200888 [Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian in its broadcasts between 2-9 December reports the following public appearances of Albanian leaders (sourceline of each report given in parentheses):

Muho Asllani and Manush Myftiu, AWP Central Committee Politburo members, attended the inauguration of a new aqueduct and a national health service aktiv in the city of Shkoder on 2 December. (Tirana Domestic Albanian 1900 GMT 2 December)

Ramiz Alia, AWP Central Committee first secretary, received a Dominican Republic Marxist delegation led by Rafael Chaljub Mejia on 6 December. (Tirana Domestic Albanian 1900 GMT 6 November) (Filed as AU0712095588)

Besnik Bekteshi, AWP CC Politburo member and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, received Dr Erich Riedl, head of a visiting FRG economic delegation on 8 December. (Tirana Domestic Albanian 1900 GMT 8 December) (Filed as AU0812201788)

Reis Malile, minister of foreign affairs, received a visiting FRG economic delegation on 6 November. (Tirana Domestic Albanian 1900 GMT 6 November) (Filed as AU0612202388)

BCP CC Plenum Opens on Restructuring, 1989 Plan

AU1312103888 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 13 Dec 88

[Text] A plenum of the BCP Central Committee opened this morning in the Boyana Residence in Sofia. The agenda contains two items:

1. On the further implementation in practice of the July Concept on restructuring our society [words indistinct].

2. On the draft laws on the country's socioeconomic development plan and budget for 1989.

Stoyan Ovcharov is delivering a report.

Zhivkov Speaks at Plenum

AU1312104788 Sofia BTA in English 1026 GMT 13 Dec 88

[Text] Sofia, December 13 (BTA)—The Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party opened a plenum here this morning. Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP, delivered a report on the further practical implementation of the July 1987 strategy for the restructuring of Bulgarian society. The plenum will discuss and adopt the draft plan for the country's technoscientific and socioeconomic development in 1989 and the 1987 [date as received] draft national budget, which will be debated when the National Assembly meets for its regular session at the end of this week.

Gorbachev UN Speech Commented On in Press

AU1012145788 Sofia BTA in English 1410 GMT 10 Dec 88

[Text] Sofia, December 10 (BTA)—All mass media are still commenting on Mr Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to New York and the Soviet leader's speech addressed to the United Nations General Assembly. All papers voice the shared opinion that Mr Gorbachev's visit to New York is a remarkable event and point out the great interest of the public in Bulgaria in the ideas and the proposals put forward by the Soviet leader.

Mr Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to New York lasted only one day because it coincided with the disastrous earthquake in Armenia, but this day will leave its imprint on many a year to come, NARODNA MLADEZH observes. The paper also marks the "unbelievable change in the political climate and the sincere aspiration of the Americans for understanding with the USSR." NARODNA MLADEZH also points out that the spontaneous hearty welcome Mr Gorbachev was given by New Yorkers exceeded all expectation and that the Soviet leader's meetings with Mr Ronald Reagan and George Bush proves the continuity of the positive trends in Soviet - American relations. Mr Mikhail Gorbachev's speech delivered at the UN General Assembly made even the sceptics believe that the world is entering upon a new era, the newspaper observes.

The VECHERNI NOVINI daily assesses Mr Gorbachev's speech as a manifestation of the new philosophy in international relations and a demonstration of Moscow's responsible and realistic policy aimed at innovating the world. At the end of 1988, mankind was given good hopes for peaceful existence, the paper writes. The press in Bulgaria foresees that the great reduction of Soviet Armed Forces Mr Mikhail Gorbachev announced will have an important favourable effect on the complex of negotiations on disarmament and detente both in Europe and in the world.

Gorbachev's UN Speech Praised

AU1212150988 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 9 Dec 88 p 5

[Editorial article: "Deeds Are the Most Topical Issue"]

[Text] We can say without exaggeration that Mikhail Gorbachev's speech to the 43d session of the UN General Assembly is the focus of worldwide attention, that politicians and statesmen, government leaders, journalists, scholars, and common people all showed the same interest in it.

This is because Gorbachev's speech is an expression of the philosophy of the new political thinking which is consistently and irrevocably beginning to prevail in international relations at the initiative of Lenin's country, which is undergoing renewal. There is even more—in the aforementioned document the new thinking is going over to new action, to specific and practical deeds on behalf of peace, disarmament, and cooperation among peoples and states.

There is no doubt that the unilateral steps of the Soviet country which, in accordance with the new historical reality, is embarking upon the path of "a changeover from the principle of super-rearmament to the principle of sensible defense sufficiency," have made an exceptionally great impression. Let us recall the following facts:

The number of staff of the Soviet Armed Forces is expected to be reduced by 500,000 men, and conventional weapons will be considerably cut down.

Six tank divisions are expected to be withdrawn from the GDR, the CSSR, and Hungary, and to be disbanded.

Referring again to the aforementioned countries, assault-landing units and other troops will be withdrawn, amounting to a total of 50,000 men, while armaments are expected to be reduced by 5,000 tanks.

The troops remaining in those countries will be reequipped to transform them into totally defensive forces.

It is also envisaged that the number of troops and armaments deployed in the European part of the USSR will be reduced.

The total Soviet Armed forces deployed in that part of the USSR and on the territories of the European allied countries will be reduced by 10,000 tanks, 8,500 artillery weapons systems, and 800 fighter aircraft.

The armed forces in the Asian part of the USSR will also be reduced and a considerable number of Soviet troops are expected to be withdrawn from Mongolia....

The purpose of this action, as M.S. Gorbachev pointed out, is to call the attention of the world public to the requirement to change over from an "economy of rearmament to an economy of disarmament."

These courageous steps represent an unmistakable expression of the advantages of real deeds in international policy. They stem from the major resolve to advance from confrontation to cooperation, which should rather be called "joint creativity" and "joint development" along the path of democratizing the entire world order. The first Soviet leader, supported by strong arguments, convincingly and firmly explained the necessity of new methods and means to solve the newly emerging tasks and problems facing our contemporary world.

He did not try to lecture, but to persuade, by sharing the socialist concept about "searching for new paths toward the future" through observing every nation's freedom of choice and turning this freedom onto a generally valid principle, while countries and nations should open up to each other in order to exchange values and ideas for their mutual intellectual and material enrichment.

In the context of such thoughts there emerges a requirement for qualitatively new relations among states, for an internationalization of dialogue and a process of negotiations, in which all countries and nations will play an increasingly important role. In this connection, the responsible, integrative, and stimulating role of the United Nations was particularly stressed. Specific, exceptionally important, and urgent problems exist and should be resolved along the path of cooperation, under the auspices and with the cooperation of the United Nations, in the military-political, economic, scientific-technical, ecological, and humanitarian spheres.... The problems of development, foreign debts, ecology, space exploration, regional conflicts, and in particular those concerning peace in Afghanistan were thoroughly examined in Gorbachev's speech, and methods and means to solving them with the participation of the entire world community, through the internationalization of approaches and through endowing international relations with a more humane content were pointed out.

The speech contains numerous ideas and specific proposals. They were all welcomed not only with interest, but with the full support of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, because they express the common views of the socialist countries, their coordinated policy of peace and cooperation, and express the new understanding about the historical essence of the contemporary world and about new approaches to the 21st century. In this respect, our country's specific initiatives in consolidating good-neighborly relations and cooperation in the Balkans, in Europe, and the world also represent real support. It is high time to demonstrate our advantages with real deeds. The socialist world has expressed its readiness in an incontestable manner. Nevertheless, the world is one whole and is indivisible. It awaits the support of all people.

Zhivkov Conveys Condolences to USSR Embassy

AU1212143088 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 12 Dec 88

[Text] On 12 December Comrades Todor Zhivkov, Georgi Atanasov, Grisha Filipov, Yordan Yotov, Milko Balev, Ognyan Doynov, Petur Mladenov, Petur Tanchev, Andrey Lukanov, Georgi Yordanov, Grigor Stoichkov, Dimitur Stoyanov, Petur Dyulgerov, Stoyan Markov, Emil Khristov, and Vasil Tsanov; Yaroslav Radev, deputy chairman of the State Council; and Nikola Manolov, State Council secretary, visited the USSR Embassy in Sofia.

Through USSR Ambassador Viktor Sharapov Comrade Todor Zhivkov conveyed to the USSR leaders and all USSR Communists and working people most sincere condolences and sympathy on the disastrous earthquake in Soviet Armenia, which caused numerous casualties and heavy material damage. Todor Zhivkov expressed confidence that Soviet Armenia will overcome the disaster with the assistance of all Soviet Republics and the cooperation and solidarity of the fraternal socialist countries and the world public. He also stressed Bulgaria's readiness to help in overcoming the consequences of the earthquake.

The USSR ambassador expressed his warm gratitude. Comrade Todor Zhivkov signed the book of condolences.

Further Reports on Visit of France's Mitterrand

Husak Makes Dinner Speech

AU1312145788 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 9 Dec 88 p 2

["Speech" by CSSR President Gustav Husak at a gala dinner for his French counterpart Francois Mitterrand in Prague on 8 December]

[Text] Esteemed Mr President, esteemed French guests, comrades; permit me on behalf of the Czechoslovak people, the CSSR Government, and on my own behalf, once more to welcome the President of the French Republic, Mr Francois Mitterrand, to Czechoslovakia. I also cordially welcome the French representatives who accompany him.

Mr President, we sincerely value your visit to Czechoslovakia. We are pleased to be able—for the first time in the 70-year history of our Republic—to welcome among us the highest representative of a country famous for its culture, the arts, intellectual achievements, and progressive ideas. We also greet you as an important representatives of French antifascist resistance.

The friendly relations of our nations have a wealth of tradition and their roots reach far back into the past. In this anniversary year of the founding of our Republic we also recalled the role France played at its inception. We also do not forget the common struggle of the Czechoslovak and the French people against fascism, for national freedom and independence in the anti-Hitlerite coalition during World War II.

Mr President, your visit is taking place at a time when an atmosphere of heightened trust is beginning to show in international relations, and when cooperation, instead of confrontation, is asserting itself. The realization is gradually permeating the international community that under the conditions of the nuclear age, no other but relations of peaceful coexistence are possible among states. In the growing realization of the need to live next to one another without the constant threat of war, and this despite all the existing political, economic, philosophical, and social dissimilarities, we see the hope for the future of the world. With the resources that are being currently swallowed by the arms buildup, one could resolve the problems of the developing countries as well as mankind's global problems; one could eliminate hunger, poverty, epidemics, and ignorance, and avert social and ecological catastrophes.

Therefore, we welcome all positive results in talks on disarmament and the solution of regional conflicts. We believe that these processes will continue and encompass all spheres of international relations and all world regions. The improved relations between the Soviet Union and the United States, as well as the recent Soviet - French dialogue in Moscow, are a significant contribution to this hopeful development.

In this connection we regard as remarkable the proposals contained in yesterday's speech at the UN by Mikhail Gorbachev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, as well as the unilateral Soviet decision to reduce its armed forces and armament. This reduction applies also to units stationed on Czechoslovak territory. We ardently agree with these initiatives.

We are sincerely interested in lasting peace and security in Europe. Together with the socialist countries, we have submitted proposals in that respect and are prepared to evaluate all the concrete suggestions by other countries, and together with them seek points of contact and mutually acceptable solutions.

The initiative aimed at establishing a zone of trust, cooperation, and good neighborly relations along the line of contact between the Warsaw Pact and NATO states is Czechoslovakia's contribution to building a secure Europe. We appreciate France's positive attitude to this proposal. Mr President, we have received with sympathy your proposal concerning a zone in which armed forces would have no means at their disposal for a surprise attack or for waging a war.

Like France, we, too, are interested in a speedy conclusion of the Vienna follow-up meeting, as well as in starting talks soon on the reduction of armed forces and armament and in continuing the talks on confidence-building and security measures in Europe. In the interest of deepening the process of Europe-wide cooperation we are in favor of also convening further follow-up meetings, especially on economic, ecological, and humanitarian problems.

The interconnection and the comprehensiveness of many problems and needs of the European states require that they be resolved jointly.

Therefore, we regard it as necessary to join our forces not only to permanently exclude war from the European mainland, but also to develop mutually advantageous and equal cooperation in all spheres on a bilateral basis as well as between integrated entities, such as CEMA and the EEC.

Esteemed Mr President; you have come to Czechoslovakia at a time when also we, like the other socialist countries, are seeking and gradually implementing new approaches in order to ensure the further successful development of socialism in our country. Our effort concentrates on accelerating the dynamism of the social and economic development through the comprehensive intensification and carrying out of structural changes in the national economy. Therefore, we are implementing reforms in the economy and all spheres of social life. In accordance with the humane essence of the socialist system, we strive to deepen socialist democracy and increase people's participation in management. In this we see the path to enhancing the people's standard of living and their social security.

The reform of our economy also creates new opportunities for the more dynamic development of economic cooperation and trade exchange between our countries, for the more extensive use of efficient forms of industrial cooperation, scientific-technical collaboration, and for establishing mixed enterprises and companies.

Our joint wish is to expand to the necessary extent the cooperation in the cultural, educational, scientific, and health spheres, and wherever there are suitable conditions. This is important for learning to know one another better and for the nations of our countries to draw closer together.

Mr President, we can note with pleasure—and our talks today have confirmed this—that favorable prerequisites have been created for the further expansion of bilateral relations between our countries. We want to continue developing constructive dialogue with France at all levels and expand it further in the interest of strengthening peace, security, and progress in Europe and in the world.

Esteemed Mr President, esteemed guests; in closing I want once more to express appreciation for the relations between the CSSR and the French Republic and express the conviction that your current visit will contribute to their further comprehensive upsurge. We are interested in strengthening and developing the good results which we have achieved until now on the foundation of mutual trust, respect, equality, and understanding.

Permit me to toast
—the health of the president of the French Republic, Mr Francois Mitterrand,
—the health of all French guests present here,
—the further development of friendly relations between the people of Czechoslovakia and France,
—peace and progress in the world.

Mitterand Visits Bratislava

LD0912144588 Prague CTK in English
1225 GMT 9 Dec 88

[Text] Bratislava Dec 9 (CTK)—French President Francois Mitterrand, currently on a two-day official visit to Czechoslovakia, arrived in the Slovak capital today in the company of President Gustav Husak of Czechoslovakia.

The French president was greeted at the airport by chairman of the Slovak National Council (Parliament) Viliam Salgovic and Slovak Premier Ivan Knotek.

French President Francois Mitterrand was later welcomed at Bratislava Castle by Slovak Communist Party First Secretary Ignac Janak and Slovak Premier Ivan Knotek.

Ivan Knotek pointed out in his address the deep roots of bilateral relations while emphasizing France's contribution towards the foundation of independent Czechoslovakia 70 years ago. He recalled the joint struggle of Czechoslovak and French patriots against fascism at World War II battlefields, as well as the heroism of French partisans in the Slovak national uprising.

In another part of his address he appreciated Francois Mitterrand's personal share in creating favourable conditions for improving East-West relations. Referring to the French president's recent visit to Moscow, Ivan Knotek said he believed that the Soviet-French dialogue helps strengthen confidence, security and cooperation in Europe.

The Slovak premier informed the French guest of the economic, social and cultural development of Slovakia. Speaking about efforts at achieving further socio-economic progress, he said Czechoslovakia counts with cooperation not only within CMEA but also with other countries and in this connection he expressed the wish to expand Czechoslovak- French cooperation in the economy, science, technology and education.

Francois Mitterand then thanked for cordial welcome in the Slovak capital.

I would like the people in Czechoslovakia, particularly in Slovakia, to know that we must strive for the creation of new, much more firm foundations so that none would be a victim any more and the two sides would be equal, the French president said. A lot of work awaits us because the war incited the division of Europe, each of us is on its different side, and thus we had lived for many years, one without the other, ideologically often one against the other. It is our task to say to ourselves now that it is not right, that it is necessary to draw a lesson from it and to build foundations for a new era. And this is the main reason for my presence among you, Francois Mitterrand stressed.

I would like intellectual peace to reign between Czechoslovakia and France and we have to strive for this. I wish us to permanently get on together on the road of progress and freedom and your position in Europe to be more and more respected. We have to give Europe a new content, which we need. And you have much to offer to Europe, Francois Mitterand said.

We, too, can have a considerable share in this great act. This was also the content of my talks with the representatives of your state. I wanted to mention these facts from France's position hoping that from now on we will create really live relations in Europe and between our states, while respecting our differences, the French president said.

Later, Francois Mitterrand saw a standing exhibition "Jewels of Slovakia's Ancient Past" at the Bratislava Castle displaying the most precious archaeological objects from the ancient times to the early middle ages.

Goods, Payments Protocol Signed With Poland

LD1312000188 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 12 Dec 88

[Text] A protocol between the Czechoslovak and Polish governments on exchanges of goods and payments for next year was signed in Prague today. The document envisions the dynamic growth of mutual trade by more than 16 percent compared with this year. The main share—approximately 80 percent of Czechoslovakia-Polish trade—is taken by deliveries of machinery and equipment. Next year, we shall import from Poland power engineering equipment, transport machinery, construction and road machinery, computers, sea-going ships, river boats, and agricultural machinery. We shall export to Poland metal machine tools, equipment for nuclear power engineering, electrical goods, rail cars, trucks, and motorcycles.

Soviet Culture Official Visits Prague

AU0212140888 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 30 Nov 88 p 2

[CTK report: "Soviet Culture and Restructuring"]

[Excerpts] Prague— The Ministry of Culture of the Czech SR, together with the Cultural Research Institute and the House of Soviet Science and Culture, organized a seminar on the implementation of the principles of the restructuring of the economic mechanism in the field of Soviet culture in Prague yesterday.

Petr Shabanov, USSR deputy minister of culture, pointed out that the restructuring taking place in all spheres of social life cannot bypass culture either, because culture takes direct part in galvanizing people into action. [passage omitted] Sociological surveys show that more than two-thirds of the population do not go to the theater, more than one-half does not go to concerts, and almost 90 percent of people do not relate to exhibitions in museums and art galleries. These figures are not cheerful, the USSR minister of culture said. [passage omitted]

Petr Shabanov said that the main tasks in implementing the principles of the restructuring of the economic mechanism in the field of culture are to draw up a uniform concept for the development of culture, ensure a further wide-ranging democratization of its management, and adapt the new economic mechanism to the new conditions in which cultural establishments operate.

Comrade Petr Shabanov was received by Matej Lucan, CSSR deputy premier, in Prague the same day. They discussed questions concerning the further intensification of cultural ties. They spoke, in particular, about preparations for the first session of a CSSR - USSR intergovernmental commission for cooperation in culture, education, and science.

State Scientific Commission Head Visits USSR

AU0712191488 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 5 Dec 88 p 7

[Unattributed report in the "24 Hours Abroad" column]

[Text] Pavel Hrivnak, CSSR first deputy premier and chairman of the State Scientific - Technical and Investment Development Commission, arrived in the USSR for a visit on Sunday [4 December].

Gorbachev UN Speech Shows Regional Solutions

AU1312115588 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 10 Dec 88 p 5

[Jozef Janto commentary in the "Word on the Events" column: "Unravelling Regional Knots"]

[Text] Mikhail Gorbachev's speech at the 43d UN General Assembly Session, and the new peace initiatives contained in it, are called a decision of epochal significance by almost everyone in the world. Although most commentaries primarily focus on passages dealing with Europe or with conventional weapons, the top Soviet representative also dealt very profoundly with all important global problems of our present world which concern the economically developed and the developing countries, and simultaneously indicated how they can be solved.

M. Gorbachev devoted a large part of his statement to regional conflicts. Although these are taking place in the "Third World," they inevitably alarm the whole world. However, in 1988 "a gleam of hope was introduced to our common worries in this sphere," he said, and devoted particular attention to the so-called Afghan issue. In resolving this issue, the Soviet Union has undertaken many positive steps. In the effort to enable the Afghans to resolve their problems (with the assistance of the United Nations and other forces), the USSR has proposed a ceasefire and a halt to all offensive operations throughout the country as of the beginning of next year, simultaneously stopping the arms deliveries to all hostile forces; it has proposed arranging an international conference on Afghanistan, and dispatching a contingent of UN forces to maintain peace in the country.

This initiative has evoked particular interest in Asia, which is perhaps the area most shaken by regional conflicts. For instance, the South Korean press recalled that the Soviet interest in solving and resolving the hotbeds of tension and in reducing the strength of USSR Armed Forces by 500,000 men, and so forth, can also contribute toward achieving military detente on the

Korean peninsula and have a favorable impact on relations between South and North Korea (which the DPRK has been striving to achieve for some time—PRAVDA note).

True, apart from Afghanistan and Korea, several other dangerous hotbeds also exist in Asia and the Pacific. One of them is the Middle East. Although here, too, certain significant changes have taken place, such as when the PLO took a "significant constructive step, making it possible to search for ways to unravel the Middle East problem." The serious incident evoked by the United States in refusing Y. 'Arafat an entry visa, and thus preventing him from addressing the UN General Assembly in New York, has temporarily frustrated all possibility of pursuing this positive trend.

The solution of the so-called Cambodian issue can serve as an example of different approaches and courses. Although M. Gorbachev's speech did not specifically mention this problem, it was nevertheless one of the main topics during the recent visit paid by PRC Foreign Minister Qian Qichen to Moscow. The Chinese side has even called this problem the focal theme in the negotiations, also because it considers it to be the most important of the three obstacles preventing the development of Sino-Soviet, and naturally also Sino-Vietnamese, relations. Beijing insisted that the SRV recall its units from Cambodia, where it had sent them at the request of the legitimate Cambodian Government to help defend the country against the Pol Potites (who had been guilty of a terrible genocide of the Cambodian peoples during 1975-78, after which they withdrew to Thai territory, from where they were, and are, also supported by China). The fact that every obstacle on the path toward peace can be mutually resolved, provided there is political goodwill to do so, was affirmed by the statement issued by the Cambodian Ministry of Defense the day before yesterday [8 December] which stated that six Vietnamese divisions with a total of 18,000 men would be withdrawn from the People's Republic of Kampuchea from 15-21 December. This represents the last part of the contingent of 50,000 SRV volunteers. A total of 32,000 Vietnamese soldiers have returned home since June 1988.

True, unilateral decisions (be they ever so significant, sincere, or even epochal) are never sufficient; they must be accompanied by adequate measures taken by the other side. This applies to both sides involved in the Cambodian conflict (aimed at preventing the Pol Potites from again threatening Cambodia), to conflicts in other parts of Asia (for instance in Afghhanistan or the Middle East), and on other continents, but also to other problems which are most alarming to the world at large; this applies, above all, to all armament and disarmament issues. However, the Soviet peace initiatives in recent years have been so immense, and have been welcomed with such enthusiasm by whole nations, that the forces which do not wish them well are finding it increasingly difficult to find counterarguments and excuses why they "cannot" act in the same way.

Editorial on Soviet-U.S. Treaty Anniversary

AU1312121788 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 7 Dec 88 p 1

[Editorial: "Year One"]

[Text] A year ago, on 8 December, the Soviet-American Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles was signed in Washington. The most important document in the history of disarmament, the long-awaited deed, the great and real hope for the future, the beginning—these were the attributes with which the world public hailed that event.

Are these attributes also justified now, one year later, are they still valid? Yes, they are. Developments to date have confirmed that a step forward has been taken. The first one, which is always the most difficult one, is the most important. For the first time weapons which have already been manufactured and stationed are being destroyed, and, moreover, they are nuclear weapons, the most terrible and most destructive weapons. The treaty is being implemented smoothly, the mechanism of verifying the mutually assumed commitments has proven itself. The world attentively follows reports on the exchange of Soviet and American inspectors, on their activities, on the scrapping of individual missiles. Politicians, diplomats, and all of us are being convinced almost daily that it can be done, that it is possible. Precisely thanks to the Washington treaty, disarmament has become reality. And it is not misplaced to add once more that this is for the first time in the history of mankind.

In the new atmosphere, in the continuing disarmament process, in the renewal of trust, the Soviet Union and the United States have made a further weighty decision—agreeing to a treaty on the elimination of 50 percent of strategic weapons, heavy ballistic missiles, which are the backbone of the nuclear potential in both arsenals. In other words, truly radical measures are involved, which would remove from mankind's shoulders a half of the nuclear burden, which is heavy, which is exhausting, and which threatens to bring a catastrophe. In their talks on strategic weapons, the Soviet and the American delegations have made substantial progress, as both sides are publicly declaring. The exceptionally important aspect is that American politics regards the commitment to achieve a reduction in the number of strategic weapons as lasting, and that the new government under the leadership of the next U.S. President, George Bush, also regards this as being one of its principal tasks.

The American-Soviet dialogue continues to develop; this, by the way, is also attested to by the visit by Mikhail Gorbachev to New York, which has just begun. Discussions and polemics are taking place. Opinions are being pared down, proposals submitted.

Is, then, everything in order? Are there only reasons to be satisfied?

To a certain extent, yes—to a certain extent, no. However, in any case the Soviet Union and the United States have declared that a nuclear war cannot achieve any political objective it cannot be won, and it must not occur. Without a doubt, this is a positive aspect. The two superpowers have agreed that there are too many nuclear weapons, that their stockpiles constitute an immense threat, and therefore nuclear disarmament is the most urgent task of the present. Again a fact that is positive.

But precisely here the problem begins. The USSR and its friends are striving for a world without nuclear weapons. This is their goal and they are determined to use all their energy, all instruments, and all means to ensure mankind's nuclear-free future. The United States and its allies in Western Europe are of the opinion that they need nuclear weapons for their security. In the West, in the decisive political circles of the bourgeoisie, the dangerous and profoundly wrong thesis prevails that nuclear weapons safeguard peace. This means that concerning the fundamental aspect, that is—that one has to completely eliminate nuclear weapons—mutual understanding has not been achieved.

Nuclear weapons are still stationed in Europe. The nuclear arsenals of Great Britain and France are intact. Although the two states have declared that at a certain stage they will join the process of nuclear disarmament, they still insist that this moment has not yet come.

Europe remains a continent on which the largest and most numerous mass of armed force and military hardware is accumulated. Two military-political groupings, the Warsaw Pact and NATO, face one another here. The Soviet Union and its allies, the members of the Warsaw Pact, are developing their appeal for conventional disarmament from the Atlantic to the Urals. That, obviously, will also be the theme of Gorbachev's announced speech in the UN. Czechoslovakia has submitted a separate proposal for establishing a zone of trust, cooperation, and good-neighborliness along the line of contact between the two groupings. Our friends in the GDR and Poland are submitting similar proposals.

We are still waiting for NATO's serious answer to these proposals of the Warsaw Pact states. It shows that NATO has no concept which would facilitate the initiation of conventional disarmament in Europe. The stances of the NATO member states are conflicting, duplicitous, and at variance with one another, and there are stubborn efforts to win unilateral military advantages in the disarmament process. The eternal accusations by the West that the East is, allegedly, superior, were countered by an honest offer from the Warsaw Pact—let us exchange mutually verifiable data on the numerical strength and the stationing of armies and military hardware! Let us put that document on the table and start discussing concrete measures! It is remarkable that the West, which has always yearned for "truthful data" and has even demanded it in an ultimatum-like manner, which it could verify on site itself, keeps silent to this offer. At the same time, this offer is the key which would accelerate matters forward, which would open closed doors.

We in Czechoslovakia feel more secure 1 year after the Washington treaty. However, are we sufficiently secure? True, Czechoslovakia has again become a nuclear-free country, and nuclear missiles zeroed in on us have been removed from FRG territory (although not all of them yet). Nevertheless, precisely because Europe still remains a military camp, we cannot feel secure, and therefore cannot be satisfied. It is a feeling shared by our neighbors, by all who live with us in the common European home. Therefore, we want to go farther, more resolutely, and faster in the disarmament talks. The socialist states will continue to apply the attractiveness of an example. They will make use of any opportunity, no matter how small, which would contribute to improving the situation, which would increase the feeling of trust, which would help others to overcome the barriers of the past.

The Washington treaty was an act whose purpose and essence lie precisely in the fact that it will not remain an isolated act. It is the first link in a chain, to which further and further links must be added.

Paper Allays Fears Over Water Project

LD0212095788 Prague CTK in English
0830 GMT 2 Dec 88

[Text] Prague Dec 2 (CTK)—The Gabcikovo-Nagymaros water project is a modern complex which has no negligible, secondary elements and which will have the expected effect only in its integrity, the Czechoslovak daily RUDE PRAVO wrote today in connection with the construction of effluent and sewage disposal plants in the framework of the joint Czechoslovak-Hungarian Danube water project.

The fears of the Hungarian public concerning the ecological consequences of the project are based on longtime experience that so-called supplementary facilities are usually built with a delay and not always is there enough money for them. Of course, the opposition against the construction of the water project follows also various other arms, including political, but the notorious "grain of truth" lies in this moment, the daily said.

The paper further stressed that already the original project took the ecological aspects into account (construction on the Czechoslovak side started e.g. by the rescue of the fertile topsoil layer) and the inter-state agreement on the water project includes a passage saying that the projects are to be permanently supplied with ecological equipment according to latest scientific results. In this connection RUDE PRAVO wrote of the construction of sewage disposal plants on the Hungarian territory, pointing out the statement of Hungarian state secretary Miklos Varga that the water project will be complete not when the dams and power plants are finished, but when all the planned sewage disposal plants are built.

Jakes Congratulates PCP's Cunhal on Reelection

AU0912165288 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 6 Dec 88 p 1

["z"-signed report: "Congratulatory Telegram"]

[Text] Milos Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, has sent a congratulatory telegram to Alvaro Cunhal on his reelection at the 12th PCP Congress to the post of PCP general secretary.

Committee for Cooperation With Cuba Meets

AU0612074988 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 2 Dec 88 p 2

[CTK report in the "International Contacts" column]

[Text] Miroslav Toman, Czech SR first deputy premier and chairman of the Czech Planning and Scientific Development Commission, and Joel Domenech Benitez, member of the State Council and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Cuba—chairmen of the two parts of the Czechoslovak - Cuban Committee for Economic and Scientific - Technical Cooperation—met in Prague on Thursday [1 December]. They focused their attention on suggestions for using potentials which continue to exist in economic relations between the CSSR and Cuba. On the same day, Joel Demenech Benitez also conducted negotiations with Antonin Krymnikl, CSSR minister of fuel and power industry.

Soviet Daily Interviews Stepan on Restructuring

PM1112152188 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 4 Dec 88 p 4

[Interview in Prague with M. Stepan, member of the Central Committee Presidium and first secretary of the Prague party city committee, by MOSTASS correspondents B. Shestakov and A. Yakovlev specially for MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA: "Importance of Common Goals. Prague Days in Moscow Start Tomorrow"; date not given—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Prague—The Prague Days will be held in Moscow 5-9 December. On the eve of this friendship festival between the two capitals, M. Stepan, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and first secretary of the Prague party city committee, gave an interview to MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA.

[Correspondents] What are Communists in the Czechoslovak capital currently working on?

[Stepan] Currently the efforts of the Prague party organization are aimed at fundamentally restructuring our society's life. Restructuring in the capital has become completely specific in nature. Its main avenues were outlined by this year's CPCZ party organization conference.

It means above all the modernization and restructuring of the economy, including the gradual reduction of production of unpromising types of output and the expulsion from the city of unsuitable [neprofilnyy] enterprises and organizations. At the same time, we are striving to improve the services sector by redistributing labor resources, improving workers' material and moral interest, extensively introducing economic accountability [khozraschet], expanding the network of cooperative enterprises, and developing private initiative. The resolution of this task also presupposes the elimination within the city of all kinds of warehouses and offices. In this regard the tasks facing the Prague National Committee are changing and our responsibility for their resolution is increasing.

The democratization of the structure of management, which is meant to galvanize various strata of our society, remains an important goal. And the working methods of the CPCZ city committee, which should not supplant organs of people's power and economic management, are changing. It should be stressed in this regard that the National Front is a platform for launching a candid social dialogue and working out a unified opinion. National committees, which are the most important component of power in resolving questions of the city's development and its relations with the central authorities, should be based on the activeness of the population. The city committee is striving to break down bureaucratic barriers and make all citizens enterprising participants in the changes around them. Thus, meaningful conferences of city public committees have been held for the first time and national committees set up in residential suburbs on an experimental basis.

Considerable work is under way to improve the situation in the city. The working class, for instance, has supported the measures for combating speculators and expelling criminal elements from the city; the technical intelligentsia has welcomed the program for modernizing the city's industries; and cultural figures have approved the proposed cooperation program. Meetings between party workers and students have shown that the younger generation is seeking constructive ways of solving the problems of socialist society. The population actively supports the implementation of the ecological program and the fair resolution of housing questions.

Of course, there is also the braking mechanism to be combated. Obstacles are presented by departmental interests, difficulties in selecting economic leaders, and bureaucratism in the activity of the city's national committee, which has affected, in particular, the recording of the city's housing stock, the resolution of the question of supplying the city with fresh bakery products, and so forth. In addition to this there has been a lack of responsibility, the desire for wage-leveling, and the wait-and-see stand adopted by certain leaders. All this gives rise to distrust among people—after all, many loud but empty statements have been made in the past. The people can only be won over by concrete action.

[Correspondents] To what extent do the main avenues of restructuring in our countries coincide, and in which areas do they differ?

[Stepan] Quite honestly, I see no substantive differences. Possibly in certain places and at certain sectors we would be dealing with different levels of development. There are natural differences in customs and traditions. All this is quite understandable, and it is important to take into account and seriously analyze differences when setting goals and working out ways to achieve them. It is well known that unthinking formalism when "utilizing experience" has caused a great deal of trouble. At the same time, we should not allow the general laws of socialist development to be called into question for the sake of "specifics." We should not deceive ourselves by claiming that there is no such danger—it is very real.

"Braking elements" are perfectly well aware that the new dynamism of social life leaves them no chance of survival. These elements include certain leaders in departments and organizations about to be scrapped, idlers who are quite happy about irresponsible wage-leveling, and people personally responsible for the mistakes of the past. There are also antisocialist groups trying to eliminate socialism under the guise of restructuring.

I would like to make it clear, of course, that these are extremes. Our main aims do coincide, which has been emphasized on more than one occasion. At a recent session of the CSSR National Front Central Committee, M. Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, stressed that the decisions of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference are a rich source of inspiration to Czechoslovak Communists. This concerns enhancing the leading role of the party, implementing economic reform, democratizing society, increasing glasnost, and also other problems connected with building a modern, strong, socialist society.

[Correspondents] How do you view the possibilities for further developing friendly ties and collaboration between the party organizations and capital councils of Moscow and Prague?

[Stepan] The possibilities for this are considerable. First and foremost, these ties should be raised to a qualitatively new level, freed of formalism, and filled with comradely frankness. With this kind of foundation they can be successful and useful. Direct bilateral cooperation is the shortest way to overcome certain difficulties in the sphere of production modernization, consumer goods production, and the development of consumer services. Friendly ties should also be extended to the sphere of ideology and culture. The answers to topical problems should be sought through joint seminars, discussions, research work, and reciprocal study courses. We should broaden cultural exchange, which is an area in which we are still marking time. We will give thought to how to give real substance to the program of ideological cooperation recently signed in Prague between the CPSU and the CPCZ. We are hoping to discuss many issues connected with strengthening ties during the Prague Days in Moscow.

There needs to be a broad exchange of opinions on questions concerning the development of municipal services. Moscow has accumulated experience in developing individual activity in the services sector, and the new General Scheme for the Management of the City Economy is being put into practice. All this is of great interest to us.

[Correspondents] What is the main aim of the upcoming Prague Days in Moscow?

[Stepan] The answer to that question is very simple: to discuss the aforementioned issues with the people of Moscow and to take a new step in the direction of broadening and deepening cooperation, which is called upon to bring real results to both sides. And, of course, to show the people of Moscow modern-day Prague, its multifaceted life, and the joys and concerns of people who live in the Czechoslovak capital. The numerous exhibitions, theater performances, movie programs, debates at the discussion club, and meetings are called upon to fulfill this task.

[Correspondents] What would you like to wish the participants and viewers in this new meeting between the two fraternal capitals?

[Stepan] I would simply like to say: Let us get to know one another better and understand all the depth and importance of our common aims. The main task stems from this—the need to combine our efforts to attain these aims.

The people of Prague, like all CSSR citizens, are following the processes of renewal in the Soviet Union with great interest and attention. We wish restructuring success and see it as a reference point for future progress. We have a vital interest in seeing you succeed in all that you have planned.

The friendship between our peoples is deeply rooted in history and is made stronger by the blood shed in the fight against our common enemy and by our close collaboration in building socialism.

We have always regarded the Soviet Union as a reliable defense and support. Today Communists and all working people in the CSSR fully support your new revolution, which serves to strengthen socialism's positions and promote the Soviet people's prosperity. Further progress in Socialist Czechoslovakia is also impossible without restructuring. I am sure that the next meeting between the two fraternal capitals will be further confirmation of this.

Jakes Attends Assembly Session on Budget
LD1312133188 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1000 GMT 13 Dec 88

[Text] Deputies of the Chamber of the People and Chamber of Nations of the Federal Assembly met in Prague today at their joint session to debate the government draft bill on the State Budget of the Czechoslovak Federation for next year. A government draft bill amending the Labor Code is also on the agenda of the 2-day meeting. Alois Indra, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Federal Assembly, welcomed at the meeting Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, Gustav Husak, President of the Republic, Ladislav Adamec, Federal Prime Minister, and other CPCZ Central Committee Presidium members, Vasil Bilak, Jan Fojtik, Karel Hoffmann, Ignac Janak, Josef Kempny, Ivan Knotek, Jozef Lenart, Frantisek Pitra, Miroslav Stepan, Karel Urbanek, and Miroslav Zavadil and other figures. Federal finance minister Jan Stejskal then presented the government draft bill on the state budget of the Czechoslovak Federation for next year.

New Official Human Rights Committee Envisaged
AU0912174388 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 7 Dec 88 p 2

[Marie Boudova commentary in the "We Comment" column: "Czechoslovak General Public Forum To Convene"]

[Text] The progressive world is currently commemorating a significant anniversary— the 40th anniversary of the adoption of the General Declaration on Human Rights. This declaration, approved by the UN General Assembly on 10 December 1948, was the first international document to become a program on which the states had agreed in the sphere of human rights, and the first document to attempt to list these rights.

On Tuesday [6 December] RUDE PRAVO reported in detail on the scientific conference held in Prague on Monday [5 December]; at this conference, Czechoslovak scientists, above all those specializing in theoretical and practical law, spoke about Czechoslovakia's contribution to implementing the declaration and about the two pacts on human rights which were adopted later, and also spoke about ways in which we intend to further intensify and improve this activity.

Our republic has become a contractual partner in practically all international accords on human rights, including the International Pact on Civic and Political Rights and the International Pact on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights. The CSSR understands these accords as being a treaty document which is binding for all contractual sides. By ratifying them, Czechoslovakia has accepted these commitments in line with international law. But even while the pacts were still being ratified, our republic created and adopted legal provisions which strikingly surpassed the rights and freedoms granted by the pacts.

As we report today on page one, a Czechoslovak General Public Forum will be held in Prague on Saturday 10 December, on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the proclamation of the General Declaration on Human Rights and the Day of Human Rights. The forum is convened by the Central Committee of the CSSR National Front and the Czechoslovak United Nations Association.

The gathering will be attended by representatives of political parties and of social, cultural, and special interest organizations and associations, by scientists, artists, workers, agricultural workers, doctors of medicine, athletes and church figures. During a discussion, they will assess all substantial issues in this sphere, and the possibilities and ways of intensifying socialist democracy. Their deliberations are expected to yield many new suggestions and ideas on how to strengthen human individuality and expand the legal provisions that serve to promote its development.

In this sense, our socialist society has undoubtedly achieved a great deal. In order to further strengthen the status of every individual in our society, we must (inter alia) expand the citizens' involvement in social life and their direct decisionmaking. We want to improve the legal basis for developing social insurance and the protection of health and nature, to intensify the role of education, culture, and science in man's life, and to strengthen man's attitude toward the values created. We must find effective mechanisms to intensify the mutual responsibility between the state and the individual, and to strengthen the comprehensive provisions for the citizens' equal rights. It is necessary to improve the entire system of protecting citizens against incorrect or illegal practices by state or other authorities, against the consequences of expressed criticism, against bureaucracy, etc.

The Czechoslovak General Public Forum is also expected to set up a Czechoslovak General Public Committee for Human Rights and Humanitarian Cooperation, which should contribute toward expanding the public's involvement in the creation, implementation, and control of the policy of state agencies and other social institutions; and create a democratic platform for comprehensively assessing the existing legal code and its application from the viewpoint of asserting man's basic rights and dealing with humanitarian affairs.

The idea of a broad assessment of such significant issues matured during the CSSR National Front session in the middle of November 1988. It develops the contents and aim of the stand adopted at that session by the CSSR National Front Central Committee on the development of socialist democracy and socialist legality, which says that our socialist society is a democratic society which respects the citizens' rights and freedoms, links the individual's interests with those of society, and consistently implements the unity of rights and duties of both the citizens and the state. Involving the working people, political parties, and the social and special interest organizations that are rallied in the National Front in the administration and social and economic development of the country and in the creation and effectiveness of laws is an expression and a guarantee of the application of civic rights and freedoms, and a reinforcement of our social certainties.

'Decontamination Station' Goes Into Operation

AU0512133988 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 1 Dec 88 p 1

[CTK report: "Ceska Lipa Miners' Contribution to Mine Waters Protection"]

[Summary] The "central decontamination station," which was built in the concern enterprise Uranium Mines Hamr in the Ceska Lipa region, is in full operation now. The facility, which pumps and purifies water from the mines, is completely automated and controlled by electronics, took 4 years to build, and cost some Kcs300 million.

Leaders' Public Appearances for 30 Nov-7 Dec

AU1212113588 [Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech, Prague PRACE in Czech, Prague VECERNI PRAHA in Czech, Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak, Bratislava VECERNIK in Slovak, and Bratislava SMENA in Slovak from 1 to 8 December report the following appearances of CSSR leaders (sourceline of each report is given in parentheses):

An aktiv of functionaries of national committees of the Czech SR, which was held in Prague on 30 November, was attended by Josef Kempny, CPCZ CC Presidium member and chairman of the Czech National Council; Frantisek Pitra, Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ CC; and Karel Urbanek, CPCZ CC Presidium member. (RUDE PRAVO 1 Dec 88 p 1)

A plenary session of the Prague CPCZ City Committee on ecological issues held on 30 November was attended by Frantisek Hanus, CPCZ CC secretary, and Miroslav Stepan, CPCZ CC Presidium member and leading secretary of the Prague CPCZ City Committee. (VECERNI PRAHA 1 Dec 88 pp 1,2; filed as AU0512173488)

A group of persons of Czechoslovak origin residing abroad was received by Gustav Husak, with Josef Kempny, and Jaromir Johanes, CSSR minister of foreign affairs, in attendance, in Prague on 7 December. (RUDE PRAVO 8 Dec 88 p 1)

Josef Kempny and Frantisek Pitra held talks with members of a visiting delegation of Serbian Assembly in Prague on 7 December. (RUDE PRAVO 8 Dec 88 p 2)

Milos Jakes, CPCZ CC general secretary, paid a visit to industrial facilities in Pocerady, Most, and Litvinov in the North Bohemian region on 6 December. (RUDE PRAVO 7 Dec 88 pp 1,2)

Ladislav Adamec, CPCZ CC Presidium member and CSSR premier, received Radoslav Klein, in connection with the latter's taking up his post as ambassador-CSSR's permanent representative to international organizations based in Vienna, in Prague on 1 December. (RUDE PRAVO 2 Dec 88 p 1)

Vasil Bilak, Presidium member and secretary of the CPCZ CC, welcomed the CPCZ delegation headed by Jan Fojtik, Presidium member and secretary of the CPCZ CC, upon its return from Greek CP Congress to Prague on 5 December. (RUDE PRAVO 6 Dec 88 p 1) Bilak received Radoslav Klein in connection with the latter's taking up his post in Vienna, in Prague on 7 December. (RUDE PRAVO 8 Dec 88 p 1)

Jan Fojtik, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ CC, addressed a rally of the working people marking the 70th anniversary of the founding of the Greek CP in Patras on 3 December. (RUDE PRAVO 5 Dec 88 p 7; filed as AU0912164088) Fojtik attended a joint session of the CSSR, Czech, and Slovak Union of Journalists in Prague on 7 December. (RUDE PRAVO 8 Dec 88 p 2)

Frantisek Hanus, CPCZ CC secretary, attended a "friendly meeting" marking Romania's National Day in Prague on 1 December. (RUDE PRAVO 2 Dec 88 p 2) Hanus paid a visit to the Tesla enterprise in Kolin on 2 December. (RUDE PRAVO 3 Dec 88 p 2)

Karel Hoffmann, Presidium member and secretary of the CPCZ CC, attended a meeting of midlevel CPCZ functionaries in Prague on 7 December. (VECERNI PRAHA 7 Dec 88 p 1)

Miloslav Hruskovic, candidate member of the CPCZ CC Presidium and CPSL CC secretary, attended a session of the CPSL CC Economic Commission in Bratislava on 5 December. (PRAVDA 6 Dec 88 p 2)

Ignac Janak, CPCZ CC Presidium member and first secretary of the CPSL CC, presided over a meeting of the CPCZ CC Commission for Work With Young People in Prague on 1 December. (RUDE PRAVO 2 Dec 88 p 2; filed as AU0612120988) Janak left for a working visit to the USSR on 4 December. (SMENA 5 Dec 88 p 1)

Alois Indra, CPCZ CC Presidium member, gave a gala dinner in honor of a visiting DPRK delegation, in Prague on 5 December. (RUDE PRAVO 6 Dec 88 p 2)

Josef Kempny, CPCZ CC Presidium member, welcomed a Serbian Assembly delegation headed by its chairman Borislav Jovic, at Prague Ruzyne Airport on 5 December. (RUDE PRAVO 6 Dec 88 p 2)

Ivan Knotek, CPCZ CC Presidium member and Slovak premier, attended a joint meeting of the Slovak Government Presidium and the Slovak Trade Union Council in Bratislava on 30 November. (PRAVDA 1 Dec 88 p 2) He attended a meeting of investors and suppliers connected with the construction of the Gabcikovo - Nagymaros project, in Gabcikovo on 1 December. (RUDE PRAVO 1 Dec 88 p 1; filed as AU0612115988) He arrived in Kosice for a working visit on 5 December (VECERNIK 5 Dec 88 p 1) and he saw Janak off for the USSR, at Bratislava airport on 4 December. (SMENA 5 Dec 88 p 1)

Jozef Lenart, Presidium member and secretary of the CPCZ CC, chaired the first session of the CPCZ CC environmental commission in Prague on 30 November. (RUDE PRAVO 1 Dec 88 p 2)

Frantisek Pitra, CPCZ CC Presidium member and Czech premier, attended a political - economic aktiv in Litvinov on 6 December. (RUDE PRAVO 7 Dec 88 p 2)

Karel Urbanek, CPCZ CC Presidium member and chairman of the Committee for Party Work in the Czech SR, chaired the constituent meeting of the CPCZ CC's Political System Commission in Prague on 1 December. (RUDE PRAVO 2 Dec 88 p 2; filed as AU0612120988) Urbanek attended an aktiv marking the 70th anniversary of the daily DELNICKY DENIK in Ostrava on 5 December. (RUDE PRAVO 6 Dec 88 p 2)

Miroslav Zavadil, CPCZ CC Presidium member and chairman of the Central Trade Union Council, met with participants in a meeting of rectors and directors of trade union schools of the socialist countries in Prague on 30 November. (PRACE 1 Dec 88 p 1) He paid a visit to Trnava and Nitra on 6 December (RUDE PRAVO 7 Dec 88 p 2) and attended a ceremony connected with the Socialist Labor Brigades in Prague on 7 December. (RUDE PRAVO 8 Dec 88 p 2)

More Reaction to Gorbachev UN Proposals

'Historic Importance' of Step

AU1212132688 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 9 Dec 88 p 2

["He." commentary: "Great New Initiative for Disarmament and Peace"]

[Text] The decisions of the Soviet Union on disarmament and international security and the new initiatives to improve the international situation which were announced by Mikhail Gorbachev at the 43d UN General Assembly, correspond to the peace doctrine of socialism. They are of utmost importance. They are meeting with lively agreement all over the world; the GDR, too, welcomes and fully supports the new Soviet measures. The decisions give a powerful new impulse to the process of disarmament, which was started with the INF Treaty and in which many obstacles still have to be overcome.

They set a forceful example also for the other side, where NATO military men adhere to their strategy of nuclear deterrence by giving the outdated legend of a threat from the east as a "reason," where the intermediate-range missiles that have to be eliminated are to be "compensated for," and where military expenditure continues to skyrocket.

The Soviet initiative consists of steps that are not linked with any conditions. Over the next 2 years the USSR will unilaterally reduce its armed forces by 500,000 men and substantially reduce its conventional armaments. By 1991 the USSR will have withdrawn six tank divisions from the GDR, the CSSR, and Hungary and will disband them. Erich Honecker called this withdrawal—which was agreed on in coordination with its allies, the GDR, the CSSR, and Hungary—a step of practical, historic importance. In addition, airborne assault units, airborne units for pioneer operations, and other troops will be withdrawn from the Soviet forces stationed in these countries. The Soviet forces in the above-mentioned countries will be reduced by 50,000 men and 5,000 tanks. The remaining Soviet divisions will be given another structure than today's, a structure that will be a clearly defensive one after the comprehensive withdrawal of tanks.

Reductions will also be made in the European part of the USSR so that there and on the territories of the allies, the armed forces will be reduced by a total of 10,000 tanks, 8,500 artillery systems, and 800 combat planes. Substantial reductions are also planned in the Asian part of the USSR.

Of course, as Mikhail Gorbachev stressed, the defense capability of the country will be maintained at a sensible and sufficiently secure level so that no one will be tempted to endanger the security of the USSR and its allies.

In the interest of safeguarding international security and consolidating peace, the USSR and the other Warsaw Pact states are again making considerable unilateral advance moves. Suspicion is to be eliminated, trust and cooperation are to be promoted. This is evidence of the seriousness and determination to implement our peace program, Erich Honecker noted.

'Western Powers Turn' Now

AU1212131788 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 9 Dec 88 p 2

[Klaus Wilczynski commentary: "Again the USSR Is the Trailblazer of Peace"]

[Text] On the eve of the first anniversary of the INF Treaty, Mikhail Gorbachev presented to the United Nations a truly historic, unilateral disarmament step that is not bound with any conditions: He announced a considerable reduction of conventional armed forces on the part of the Soviet Union. With this, the USSR demonstrated its determination not to leave things at the start of disarmament but to continue the process that has been initiated.

It was no accident that Gorbachev chose the UN General Assembly for his speech, which was assessed as a great concept by politicians of all camps already on the day it was delivered. Looking at the 21st century, he developed the basic outline of a total restructuring of international processes, which is necessary in view of the realities existing in the world. This affects all essential fields of coexistence among the states, from security policy and the problems of the Third World to ecology.

All these processes—this is the leitmotiv—are to be shaped in such a way that civilization is preserved and that the world becomes safer for all and more suitable to normal life. The will of all countries is necessary to learn how to deal with each other in such a way.

Mikhail Gorbachev did not leave any doubts that the different social systems and values exist objectively as an expression of different class interests. One cannot ignore this. However, the struggle of ideologies must be conducted with peaceful means and each party should prove the advantage of its social system. The most important thing is, however, disarmament. Proceeding from this, the Soviet leadership decided to again demonstrate its readiness to reduce armaments through deeds. The announced measures are of extraordinary importance because they are the pivotal point of an entire process.

Over the next 2 years, the personnel of the Soviet Army will be reduced by half a million men. At the same time, conventional armaments will be considerably reduced—both things will be done unilaterally, independent of the disarmament negotiations envisaged in the CSCE process.

In coordination with the Warsaw Pact members, six tank divisions will be withdrawn from the GDR, the CSSR, and Hungary by 1991 and will be disbanded. Airborne assault units and other units, including complete airborne units for pioneer operations, will be withdrawn from the groups of Soviet forces stationed in these countries. The Soviet troops in these countries will be reduced by 50,000 men and 5,000 tanks, the remaining units will be newly structured—in a clearly defensive way.

Troops and armaments on the European territory of the USSR will also be reduced. There and on the territory of its European allies, a total of 10,000 tanks, 8,500 artillery systems, and 800 plans are to be removed compared with today. Considerable parts of the Soviet troops will return home from Mongolia.

The USSR is thus taking the bull by the horns. It has defeated the argument with which opponents of disarmament are currently blocking any further steps and "justifying" their attempts to compensate for the intermediate-range missiles with new nuclear weapons: an alleged superiority of the USSR in conventional armament. Now the unequivocal proof of the Soviet readiness to drastically reduce conventional weapons, too, has been put on the table. These generous measures clearly show to the world the defensive character of the military strategy of the USSR and its allies.

It is self-evident that the GDR fully supports the Soviet initiative, as Erich Honecker stressed on Wednesday evening [7 December]. It corresponds to our country's very own interests and is fully in the spirit of our policy of dialogue and such disarmament initiatives as the one for the establishment of nuclear-free and chemical weapons-free zones in central Europe.

At the Seventh SED Central Committee Session, Erich Honecker said that during his meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev the GDR and the USSR affirmed that they are working together for the continuation of the disarmament process without a break. The unilateral Soviet measures serve this goal. Now it is the Western powers' turn to act.

Sympathy Extended Following Armenia Earthquake

Honecker Condolences at Embassy

LD1212145388 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1339 GMT 12 Dec 88

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The party and state leadership of the GDR expressed the deeply felt sympathy of the people of the GDR for the tragic consequences of the earthquake in the Armenian SSR at the USSR Embassy on Monday. Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, expressed to Soviet Ambassador Vyacheslav Kochemasov heartfelt sympathy with regards to the tens of thousands of victims of this natural disaster. Erich Honecker signed the condolence book, as did Willi Stoph, chairman of the Council of Ministers, Horst Sindermann, president of the People's Chamber, and Prof Lothar Kolditz, president of the National Council of the National Front.

Red Cross Offers Aid

AU1212212788 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 9 Dec 88 p 2

[Text] Dresden (ADN)—Prof Gerhard Rehwald, president of the GDR Red Cross, has expressed his deep-felt sympathy to the Alliance of the USSR's Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies for the serious earthquake disaster in the north of the Armenian SSR. In a letter to its president, Dr Dmitriy Venediktov, an aid offer was submitted on behalf of the GDR Red Cross.

Reportage on Visit of SFRY's Dizdarevic

7 Dec Toast by Honecker

AU1212114788 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 8 Dec 88 p 3

[Toast by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, at a dinner given in honor of Raif Dizdarevic, President of the SFRY Presidency, in Berlin on 7 December: "There Must Not Be Any Break in the Disarmament Process"]

[Text] Dear Comrade Dizdarevic, dear Yugoslav comrades and friends, distinguished guests:

Dear Comrade Dizdarevic, permit me to welcome you and your entourage once again most cordially to the GDR. I am pleased that we have the opportunity of continuing the now traditional exchange of views at the highest level between the GDR and the SFRY.

Already our first talks today have yielded many results. They took place in a friendly and trusting atmosphere, as characterizes the relations between our two socialist states.

Our meeting takes place at a turbulent and important time, in which the states and peoples have to make decisions that entail extremely far-reaching consequences. Therefore, it is only natural that in our talks we are paying particular attention to the questions of safeguarding peace, disarmament, and international peaceful cooperation

Real Chances for Living Without the Nightmare of a Nuclear Disaster

We note with great satisfaction that, thanks to the peace activities of socialist, nonaligned, and other states, and thanks to the efforts of peace-loving and realistically thinking forces all over the world, positive tendencies begin to emerge in international events. The peoples consider the implementation of the Treaty between the USSR and the United States on the Elimination of their Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles as a hopeful, first step of nuclear disarmament.

The destruction of an entire category of top modern weapons provides mankind with the real chance of living without the nightmare of a nuclear disaster. In this connection, we do not overlook the fact that we are only at the beginning of a change for the better. There is still much resistance that has to be overcome, in particular the resistance of those who stick to nuclear deterrence and are still striving for ever different varieties of modernizing nuclear and conventional weapons.

Therefore, there can and must not be any break on the path toward disarmament that we have embarked upon. The announcement by Mikhail Gorbachev at the United Nations that over the next 2 years the Soviet Union will unilaterally reduce its armed forces by 500,000 men and the corresponding weapons deserves great attention and agreement. Of equal, practically historic importance is the withdrawal of six tank divisions from the GDR, the CSSR, and the Hungarian People's Republic, amounting to 5,000 tanks and 50,000 men—a move that has been coordinated with the allies.

The GDR Fully Supports the Far-Reaching Soviet Initiative

The GDR welcomes and fully supports the new, far-reaching proposals and initiatives, which were presented today by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Supreme Soviet Presidium, in New York at the world forum of the United Nations and received with great applause. They are aimed at continuing and deepening the process of disarmament with new, concrete steps. The Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Pact states are thus again making considerable unilateral advance moves in the interest of safeguarding international security and consolidating peace. This demonstrates the seriousness and determination to implement their peace program.

The GDR is actively participating in shaping this program, which is aimed at comprehensive and complete disarmament. It does not omit any kind of weapons, includes strictest verification measures, and observes the principle of equality and equal security in every phase.

We note with satisfaction that the Nonaligned Movement is intensifying its work for the safeguarding of peace, for effective disarmament, and for the democratic restructuring of the system of international political and economic relations. We welcome the decisions of the latest foreign ministers' conference in Nicosia. With the nomination of your country the host of the ninth summit the role of your country in the Movement has been highly appreciated.

[Text] Located in the heart of Europe, at the borderline between the two largest military coalitions the GDR sees its responsibility in contributing to the safeguarding of peace with its own initiatives. For this purpose, we continue our policy of dialogue and cooperation. We will continue to do everything possible to strengthen the forces of reason and realism, which work for an improvement of international relations.

Berlin Conference—Convincing Proof of New Thinking

This was also the purpose of the International Meeting on Nuclear-Free Zones this summer, which we convened in Berlin. It was an event of far-reaching importance, a convincing expression of new thinking and responsible actions in the nuclear age. At this meeting the Yugoslav delegation also contributed to the peace dialogue that was rich in results with its constructive work. We again thank you for this.

We think that the peaceful future of the peoples on our continent lies in a common European home. All states are trying to contribute ideas to furnishing it. In our view, nuclear-free and chemical weapons-free corridors and zones of trust and security are solid building blocks for this. We have proposed corresponding projects. Accompanied by the process of elimination of intermediate-range nuclear weapons which has started and the expected agreement on the reduction of further missile systems, their realization—like the zones proposed for northern Europe and the Balkans—would be suited to promote the further reduction of military confrontation in Europe and to favor global solutions.

We attach extraordinary importance to the fastest possible conclusion of the Vienna CSCE follow-up meeting with a balanced and substantive final document. This would open up the way for negotiations on conventional disarmament from the Atlantic to the Urals and on further confidence-building measures and security. New spheres could be opened up for European cooperation.

Friendship Between Our Peoples is Deeply Rooted

Dear Yugoslav comrades and friends, in shaping our bilateral relations we are also guided by the common concern of strengthening socialism and serving the welfare of our peoples and the preservation of peace. In this, we can base ourselves on varied common points and links of tradition. They are based on the humanist and progressive heritage of our peoples, which we not only preserve but also use in the struggles of our time.

The friendship between our peoples is deeply rooted in the joint struggles of the German and Yugoslav workers class against capitalist exploitation, fascism, and war. When in a few days we celebrate the 70th anniversary of the revolutionary KPD, which was founded in the fire of the November revolution, we always have in mind its internationalist work. From the very beginning, this linked it to the the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, which was founded in 1919. Almost exactly 60 years ago, in November 1928, the Fourth Congress of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, the holding of which was actively supported by the KPD, took place in Dresden.

Today there is close friendship and overall cooperation between our socialist states. Based on a solid foundation, together we are shaping our present and our future in an ever more concrete and effective way.

My agreements with Comrade Josip Broz Tito, Yugoslavia's unforgotten former president, have proved to be lasting guidelines. We have every right to say that the relations between the GDR and the SFRY are at a high level today and are continuously developing and deepening.

Our countries are linked by extensive contacts in politics, economy, education, culture, science, and sports. With an increasing variety of forms and methods of their economic relations, the GDR and the SFRY are conducting a remarkable amount of mutual trade. Specialization and cooperation both in production and in research and science have reached a good level. We will continue to find solutions to new questions and problems in the spirit of mutual trust and understanding—solutions that take into account the interests of both countries and ensure stability and continuity of cooperation.

Creative Search for Best Solutions to New Tasks

Dear Comrade Dizdarevic, dear Yugoslav comrades, during your stay in the GDR you will have the opportunity of gaining a personal impression from the successful development of our country. As you know, we are proceeding from the premise that the shaping of the developed socialist society in the GDR is a historic process of profound changes in all fields of social life. It includes the creative search for the best appropriate solutions to new tasks and problems.

In this spirit we are implementing the decisions of the 11th SED Congress, are continuing the tested course of the unity of economic and social policy, and are preparing our party's 12th congress, which has been convened for 1990.

We are following with great attention and sincere interest the efforts of the Yugoslav working people to stabilize their country's social development in all fields and to safeguard and increase the achievements of the building of socialism. We wholeheartedly wish our Yugoslav comrades success in implementing the decisions of the 11th LCY Congress and the First LCY Conference.

We have all reason to be convinced that your visit to the GDR will contribute to making our friendly relations even closer and to deepening them.

Please, raise your glasses with me and drink to

—the consolidation of friendship and cooperation between our parties, states, and peoples;
—our joint work in the struggle for peace and socialism;
—your health, dear Comrade Dizdarevic;
—the health of all Yugoslav comrades and friends present here.

Gorbachev Proposals Welcomed

AU1212145888 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 9 Dec 88 p 1

[Excerpts] Potsdam—Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency, welcomed the important decisions of the Soviet Union on disarmament and international security, which were presented by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, at the United Nations in New York the day before.

During his visit to Cecilienhof Palace [on 8 December], the memorial of the Potsdam Agreement, in a talk to journalists the Yugoslav statesman discussed the withdrawal of six tank divisions from the GDR, the CSSR, and Hungary and the return of troops temporarily stationed in the Mongolian People's Republic, which was announced by the Soviet Union in agreement with its allies. All this must be assessed positively. In general, these measures are steps which have always been advocated by Yugoslavia's foreign policy. Raif Dizdarevic said that he hopes that these initiatives will be taken up as a serious stimulus for further negotiations on the reduction of armaments, including conventional weapons on the entire European continent.

Regarding his talks with Erich Honecker, the Yugoslav head of state said that they took place in a friendly atmosphere. In almost all areas there is developed cooperation between the two countries. Further stimuli were provided for its expansion. Concerning the usefulness of dialogue, Raif Dizdarevic said the better people know each other, the better they understand each other and the less room is there for misunderstandings.

On the basis of the 1945 Potsdam Agreement, relations in Europe are being developed today, the Yugoslav statesman stressed, summarizing his visit to the historical site. What had happened before the agreement must never recur. All states and peoples in Europe have to live together in an atmosphere of mutual understanding and trust, great security and comprehensive cooperation. [passage omitted]

Raif Dizdarevic wrote in the guests' book that the visit to this site where postwar history was written, makes one aware again that it is indispensable to preserve peace, peaceful cooperation, and equal dialogue between the peoples. He is impressed how determinedly the GDR is living up to this insight and what it is doing to put it into practice. This also applies to overcoming tensions and to developing trust and understanding among the peoples in Europe and in the world.

7th Central Committee Session Held 2 Dec

Fischer Addresses Group

AU0912150688 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 3-4 Dec 88 pp 14-15

[Speech by GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer during the discussion at the Seventh Central Committee Session in Berlin on 2 December: "Not Permitting Any Hesitation in the Struggle for Further Disarmament"]

[Text] Dear Comrades:

A basic feature of our foreign policy is and remains its realism. It results in predictability, and this is doubtlessly a stabilizing factor at a time and in an international situation that is insecure and full of risks because of the arms buildup and long periods of political confrontation. Such a policy is justified, even demanded, by our political and geographical situation. Everything we do or do not do immediately and directly effects Europe and, thus, the international climate.

Our general secretary outlined the positive changes in international relations, the initiated turn from confrontation to detente; at the same time, he stressed that this process does not remain free of violations by those who do not want to have a nuclear-free world by the year 2000.

The treaty on the intermediate-range nuclear weapons has encouraged us and all peoples because it is a real start of disarmament. Now it is a priority concern not to permit a pause in the struggle for further disarmament in the nuclear and conventional sphere. The current security, the current calming down of international relations are not stable, they are treacherous because they are still based on heaps of mass destruction weapons and the "peace" of terror and deterrence. The material means to destroy mankind continue to exist.

Progress in the process of disarmament, in particular the solution of such an important problem as that of halving the strategic offensive weapons, are of utmost importance to saving mankind from a nuclear disaster. They influence international relations favorably and are suited to bar the way to those who are striving for new rounds in the arms buildup.

Taking Into Account the Consequences of the Nuclear Age

Realism in international actions means, above all, taking into account the given facts and consequences of the nuclear age. The fact that today mankind only has the alternative of living peacefully together or perishing together in a nuclear inferno, the fact that in a nuclear confrontation there would be no victors and vanquished, and that all life, the species man, would disappear has required and still requires appropriate foreign policy priorities. Peace, disarmament, and cooperation have become the all-encompassing issues, the measure of all actions, because only on this basis can everything else, including the building of the socialist society, be solved. Our party has consistently followed this insight, which was explained by Comrade Erich Honecker in April 1983 at the Karl-Marx Conference—4 years after the NATO two-track decision.

Our policy of dialogue and cooperation, our orientation toward a coalition of realism and reason, which unites all people interested in peace regardless of different opinions and ideological standpoints, our policy, which, at the seventh plenum in the same year responded to the imperialist arms buildup and deployment of missiles with a struggle for peace "now more than ever"—all these things were and still are logical, practical consequences of a realistic view of the international situation.

Political dialogue aimed at results that can be felt by the people, urging further disarmament without hesitation, and showing the alternatives of peaceful cooperation is the core of the common socialist peace program today.

This way can be successful only with a strong worldwide, peace movement. The "negotiating table" is not enough; world conscience has to increasingly determine international development.

The Helsinki Final Act, the Quadripartite Agreement on West Berlin, and the treaties concluded by the FRG and the socialist states are among the results achieved in the 1970's.

The outcome of this stage of detente, in which both sides "regardless of different legal positions" had to proceed—as the above-mentioned treaties say—"from the realities," are thus valid agreements, pointing far into the future, on the shaping of East-West relations, agreements that confirm the territorial status quo of post-war history and the resulting borders.

Making Detente Irreversible

Today, at a time when it is necessary to make detente irreversible by means of effective disarmament, we are considering in particular the experiences gained in the struggle for peace and security in Europe in the 1970's. These include, for instance, that, then as now, detente in no way goes hand in hand with an abatement but with an escalation of the ideological conflict between capitalist and socialist states. While the European treaties have started the normalization of East-West relations through political, economic, scientific-technological, and cultural cooperation, the conflict about the social concepts and the values inherent to every system has escalated at the same time.

The states are called upon not to let their ideological differences affect relations between them. However, this neither eliminates the ideological conflict nor does it make foreign policy on both sides lose its class nature.

Therefore, I affirm one of our party's insights, which it has been following and which is still valid without any restrictions: The stable and dynamic development of socialism is and remains the basis of its foreign policy actions. Questions of disarmament and international security are in the foreground in this connection.

As a member of the Warsaw Pact we stick to a policy which focuses on the political key issues and orients itself toward easing tensions in the international situation in a real and irreversible way.

Permit me a few sentences on our relations with the FRG: The question of peace still is their focal issue. This results from the knowledge about the importance of these relations for the political climate in Europe, from the knowledge about the military, political, and economic potentials of both German states and their role in their alliances, that is, their weight in East-West relations.

It is important for us all that further results in the field of disarmament, in particular between the Soviet Union and the United States, the leading powers of the two alliances, be established. I am sure that Comrade M. S. Gorbachev will act in this spirit during his stay in New York a few days hence.

Never Again Must War Emanate From German Soil

One thing is important above all: Never again must war start from German soil, peace must start from German soil. The recent meetings with Minister Schaeuble, the head of the FRG Chancellery, also offered an opportunity to assess the contribution of the two German states to arms limitation and disarmament and to draw up a balance sheet of the development of relations since Comrade Erich Honecker's official visit.

There are progress and problems in bilateral relations:

Progress is reflected by, for instance, the dialogue for disarmament and security, mutual visits of ministers, increasing cultural exchange, first steps toward implementing the oral agreements reached during our general secretary's official visit to the FRG, development of trade relations, and expansion of tourist and visitors traffic.

Problems still exist where the FRG Government neglects the agreed Joint Communique, insists on its concept of the allegedly open German question, and does not show willingness for consensus in solving basic political questions—such as the border at the River Elbe, respecting GDR citizenship, and others.

Now some remarks on the European home: In the FRG a common house with windows and doors is tirelessly being discussed. Of course, windows to look out of, not to be able to sneak into the neighbor's apartment via the roof. And doors? We have 47 border checkpoints with the FRG along a total border of about 1,300 km. There are 25 border checkpoints through which one enters West Berlin. It has always been the case in interstate traffic that citizens and tourists cross the border at the checkpoints established for this purpose.

Why should it suddenly be different in the European house, or better, between the two German states? Or: Do houses not also have supporting walls? Why not, and particularly in this certainly not simple European house? Supporting walls—they can be compared with secure national borders. A secure house—this can only be a house without deterrence, no matter what kind. Every tenant should feel unmolested and unthreatened in his apartment.

The shaping of peaceful relations between the European states was, is, and remains a priority task of the foreign policy of our country. In this connection, it is important for us to exploit the opportunities provided by the Helsinki Final Act and to consolidate and even expand the CSCE process, which has stood its test for more than a decade under difficult conditions.

Peace and security are in the foreground because it is necessary to safeguard future life.

The socialist states have achieved tangible results for disarmament and confidence-building because they have approached things realistically. I refer to our approach to the questions of verifying disarmament obligations which have been incurred, that means "cards on the table," as Comrade Heinz Kessler recently said, and to the willingness to reduce military imbalances where they exist. In the meantime, we established, for instance, relations with the EC and the European Parliament. All this, linked with the CSCE process, has calmed the situation in Europe.

The very next task in European policy is the speedy conclusion of the Vienna meeting. This is also important to start the process of conventional disarmament in Europe. The foreign ministers' committee of our alliance held discussions on this in Budapest at the end of October.

By the way, I want to remind you: The idea of a secure Europe was presented to the public by us, the Warsaw Pact states, as early as the 1950's and then again in 1966.

We know that the Final Act develops its peace-promoting effect only if one consistently adheres to the principles of respecting state sovereignty and of respecting the differences in the political and social systems—in other words: if no side tries to change the social system of the other in line with its own pattern through the CSCE process.

Our alliance has a program of nuclear and conventional disarmament with a view to the year 2000 and beyond; it also has ideas about the next steps and tasks.

The Only Concept: Elimination of All Nuclear Weapons

Our party knows how complicated the next stage will be, because our state has always had and will always have to build socialism under conditions that are open to the world. Even though much has changed in the attitude toward the socialist states, NATO insists—as the latest statements prove—on the concept of military deterrence, and that means armament. When Europe was permitted to experience 4 decades of peace, this is the reward of the fear of nuclear weapons, of weapons that have proved to be a blessing because they are a curse. (To be read in EUROPAEISCHE WEHRKUNDE No. 7/1988, p 369)

According to this, the principle would be valid that the greater the number of weapons and the more terrifying they are, the greater the blessing. Really a macabre, but also dangerous, logic, a logic of balancing on the brink of a nuclear inferno.

We counter this with the much more simple but the only safe concept of eliminating all nuclear weapons and thus eliminating the opportunities to use them.

As the Politburo report, with which I agree, says, our party and our state are making their contribution

—by energetically participating in implementing the joint socialist peace program;
—through their own steps of arms limitation and disarmament, which correspond to the specific conditions and possibilities;
—and through their constructive and predictable policy.

We are making our contribution
—above all, by strengthening the alliance with the Soviet Union, in which the GDR will continue to see the firm guarantee of successful socialist development, as Comrade Erich Honecker affirmed in Moscow in September.

We are making our contribution
—through close cooperation with the other socialist countries;
—and by strengthening and developing socialism, and by raising its attractiveness and power of attraction.

The stability and dynamism of the building of socialism in the GDR are and remain the most important precondition for our state's successful foreign policy.

Politburo Members Speak

AU0912142688 [Editorial Report] East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND on 3-4 December on pages 3-16 carries excerpts from speeches given during the discussion at the Seventh Central Committee Session in Berlin on 2 December.

The paper carries excerpts from the speeches of the following Politburo members and candidate members: Harry Tisch, chairman of the FDGB Central Executive Council (4,000 words); Hans-Joachim Boehme, first secretary of the Halle Bezirk leadership (4,000 words); Siegfried Lorenz, first secretary of the Karl-Marx-Stadt Bezirk leadership (3,000 words); Guenter Schabowski, first secretary of the Berlin Bezirk leadership (3,500 words); Werner Eberlein, first secretary of the Magdeburg Bezirk leadership (3,000 words); Gerhard Mueller, first secretary of the Erfurt Bezirk leadership (3,500 words); and Werner Walde, first secretary of the Cottbus Bezirk leadership (3,000 words).

The paper also carries excerpts from the speeches of the following Central Committee members and candidate members:

Erich Hahn, director of the Marxist-Leninist Philosophy Institute of the Academy of Social Sciences attached to the SED Central Committee (4,000 words); Dieter Schulze, head of the "Oberlausitz" Agroindustrial Association (3,500 words); Otto Reinhold, rector of the Academy of Social Sciences (4,500 words); Christa Zellmer, first secretary of the Frankfurt (Oder) Bezirk leadership (3,500 words); Rudolf Winter, director general of the VEB "Fritz Heckert" Machine Tool Combine, Karl-Marx-Stadt (3,500 words); Hans Albrecht, first secretary of the Suhl Bezirk leadership (3,500 words); Wolfgang Biermann, director general of the VEB Carl Zeiss Jena Combine (3,500 words); Eberhard Aurich, first secretary of the FDJ Central Council (4,000 words); Hans Modrow, first secretary of the Dresden Bezirk leadership (4,000 words); Colonel General Horst Bruenner, deputy defense minister and chief of the Political Main Administration of the National People's Army (3,500 words); Johannes Chemnitzer, first secretary of the Neubrandenburg Bezirk leadership (3,500 words); Guenther Jahn, first secretary of the Potsdam Bezirk leadership (3,000 words); Horst Schumann, first secretary of the Leipzig Bezirk leadership (3,000 words); Ernst Timm, fist secretary of the Rostock Bezirk leadership (3,000 words); and Fritz Dallmann, chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the Peasants' Mutual Aid Association and chairman of the Priborn LPG (3,000 words).

Harry Tisch's speech contains the following passage on foreign policy issues:

"The trade unionists of our country know very well that the preservation and safeguarding of peace are a priority matter in the policy of the party and the state, because they are a matter of life, of survival, of all of mankind. They also know that we are not being served peace on a silver tray but that we have to struggle and work for it with our deeds and ideas.

"This insight finds its millionfold, practical expression in the great achievements of the GDR working people under the tested slogan 'My workplace—my combat station for peace.'

"It is and remains true that every initiative, every activity, every deed that makes socialism stronger and more attractive is a contribution to preserving peace. Strong socialism is the best guarantee for life in a secure world.

"It fills us with satisfaction to be able to maintain our assessment that a change for the better has emerged even though the international situation is still complicated. Pushing back confrontation through constructive dialogue, starting nuclear disarmament, the efforts to solve regional conflicts, and the increasing awareness that the global problems of the people cannot be solved by working against each other but only by working together, show this.

"The working people of our country welcome this encouraging progress as a victory of the peace policy of the socialist countries and of the dedication of all peace-loving and realistically thinking forces in the world.

"The successes that have been achieved are also an incentive to further raising the labor results through socialist competition so that the process of disarmament is continued steadily and no pause is permitted.

"This is even more urgent since we receive new proof everyday that the dangers of a world conflagration have not yet been banished. The most aggressive forces in the Pentagon and in NATO are still playing with the nuclear fire. They stick to their striving for hegemony and fear for the enormous profits from arms production.

"In their propaganda they denounce the worldwide agreement to the Soviet disarmament proposals as Gorbachev virus, as a pathogen that has to be combated.

"Therefore we are firmly determined not to relax our vigilance for one single moment.

"As we pointed out in the theses on the 70th anniversary of the founding of the KPD, the dialectics of peace and social progress have always characterized the struggle of the revolutionary vanguard of the German workers class. We continue a long and good tradition when today we are struggling for a secure peace with all our strength. This secure peace is the basic condition for the development of the motive forces and values, the achievements and advantages of socialism. It is and remains the most important interest of the workers class, of all working people, and of all the people in the GDR.

"Our trade union federation has always understood that exemplary work for socialism is the most effective contribution to preserving this peace."

Hans-Joachim Boehme discusses the contribution of Halle Bezirk to the development of the GDR and the results achieved in fulfilling the 1988.

"By the end of October it was possible to reach a lead in industrial goods production of M333 million, in net production of M134 million, and in consumer goods production of M197 million. If one adds the 16,529 new and modernized apartments and the achievements in the 'Join In!' drive that amount to M1.3 million, this shows the determination to establish the best foundations for the smooth transition to the new year with a generally fulfilled plan. ... With the industrial robots and CAD-/CAM stations put into service during the first 8 months alone more than 2,900 people were set free for other tasks."

Hans-Joachim Boehme's speech also contains the following passage referring to the FRG:

"In the 40th year of our GDR it becomes even more evident that in this first worker-peasant state on German soil people of different origin and political and ideological conviction have found a fatherland and know that it is worth living and struggling for it to further grow and flourish. They realize that socialism needs them all, has room for all, and is of benefit to all.

"As regards the FRG, which is also 40 years old, we are worlds apart. Jenninger's scandalous speech and the FRG chancellor's latest gaffes in the Bundestag are an expression of the fact that leading politicians of this country have not even really come to terms with the 'Lingua Tertii Imperii,'—the language of the Third Reich, as Victor Klemperer called it—not to speak of the fascist past.

"Yesterday's Bundestag debate, which again massively interfered in the GDR's internal affairs, showed how difficult it is for Bonn's politicians to understand the lessons of history."

Siegfried Lorenz notes that "we can proceed with conviction from the premise that our party's policy, which is aimed at the welfare of the people and at peace, has lastingly proved its vitality and its strong international attraction." He goes on to discuss the contributions of Karl-Marx-Stadt Bezirk the the GDR economy and to implementing the tasks that are faced by the communists at present.

Concerning economic achievements, he notes that "the results reached this year are reflected in the record performances accomplished in the industry of our bezirk in October and November, which amounted to more than M270 million per work day; the lasting dynamic growth of labor productivity of almost 8 percent; M13.7 million of goods produced with the Q quality mark; 22,900 newly built or modernized apartments; and by agricultural yields of 49.3 decitonnes of grain and 290 decitonnes of potatoes per hectare, which are remarkable in view of this year's conditions."

He also states that the "promise to produce goods for the population at a value of M300 million in excess of the plan has been fulfilled already by the end of November."

In his speech Guenter Schabowski discusses the social achievements in the GDR and notes the following on the GDR's efforts to promote peace:

"Based on the secure insights of the Marxist-Leninist ideology, the Communists will live up to their responsibility for tackling urgently topical problems of mankind, such as safeguarding peace and disarmament. This is our conviction. I stress this because sometimes one gets the impression that some people consider class convictions outdated and a burden—probably to hide or justify their own lack of a standpoint.

"Our conviction is not only based on theory. It is based on 40 years of experience in building the socialist society. However, our experiences also are the irreplaceable victims and the scars inflicted on our party by the imperialist opponent during the night of fascism decades ago. By the way, until today he does not seem to be willing to give up his stubbornness and unteacheableness. How else should one interpret the unending attacks on our national border, the direction of NATO maneuvers, the revanchist language and speculations of certain FRG politicians and media, and also the scandalous events around the three boys from the Holy Cross Choir [allegedly enticed away by the FRG].

"We have always known about the limited ability to learn of some of Bonn's politicians. At the Bundestag session on Thursday [1 December] it became obvious again. Even though Kohl had been unequivocally been told by Erich Honecker about political physics—about the incompatibility of fire and water—and even though in Moscow he had recently received a rebuff for the old tale of the open German question, he again put on the scratched record at the Bonn parliament. Like the late Hallstein, he wants to have the Bonn Basic Law understood as a document for all Germans. Well, for the GDR this paper is about as important and valuable as an old entrance ticket for a racecourse, which one will look at in the German History Museum at best....

"Firmly included in our class position are the alliance and the friendship with the CPSU, with the country of Lenin, as Comrade Honecker fundamentally and comprehensively explained here. The results of the latest meeting between Honecker and Gorbachev were therefore joyfully and emphatically welcomed by the GDR people. What is so important to our common present and future would be inconceivable without its historic roots. In his speech on the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution, Mikhail Gorbachev paid tribute comprehensively and in a differentiated way to the historical and heroic achievements of the Soviet people. How can we be indifferent, twiddle our thumbs, so to speak, when—contrary to this speech—some ignorant or hysterical authors, who are perhaps driven by the questionable ambition of recommending themselves to those writing bourgeoise history, try to generally condemn and dismantle chapter two of world history, which we have helped to write."

Schabowski mentions the following economic data of Berlin Bezirk: "Net production has increased by 9.6 percent. The plan's lead in industrial goods production amounts to M120 million. The bezirk-administered industry contributes to the growth of economic efficiency by exceeding the planned reductions in prime costs and by undercutting material expenditures. Consumer goods valued at M100 million were provided in excess of the plan."

Furthermore, Schabowski compares living conditions in the GDR and the FRG, denouncing the "social gap between huts and palaces" in the FRG and the exorbitant rents.

"The truth is that in the FRG, which is one of the richest countries of the capitalist world, 1 million people suffer under the acute lack of housing. According to forecasts of the FRG tenants' associations, this number will be twice as high by 1990. In the large cities rents already eat up more than 50 percent of the income of a worker's family. Rents of DM1,500 to DM2,000 for a three-room apartment are not rare—according to Western sources! ...

"By the way, in West Berlin 185 apartments and a total of 23 so-called social apartments with lower rents were constructed last year. Asked about these facts, the FRG housing minister said yesterday evening after the first day of our Central Committee session, that we would not play the fool and request billions for the construction of about 100,000 apartments, because he would not get them anyway. Of course, the money is needed much more urgently for NATO's long-term armament, for instance for the Fighter 90. Nevertheless, the minister claimed: 'The housing situation is not good, it is not very good, it is excellent.'—Self-hypnosis as a means of solving the housing question. Will those 30,000 people in the FRG who are either homeless or vegetating in makeshift homes be able to follow the minister's arguments?

"If there were only this one deficiency in the FRG—the housing problems and the dirty business with the shortage of housing; if there were not also 4 million unemployed, to whom the general secretary referred; if in the same FRG there were not the permanent chain of bribery scandals of the power-hungry mafia of big capital, casinos, and corrupt politicians; if there were not the millions and billions of subsidies to grease the profit machinery of the big monopolies, these subsidies to needy millionaires which Harry Tisch mentioned, which are, by the way, also taken from the budget for the health-insurance patients; if all this were not so but there were only the housing scandal, to which the FRG tenants' association referred, this would already be enough to disqualify the developed capitalist system in the FRG and its political praisers. Those are, by the way, the same people who are currently twisting their tongues over terms such as 'perestoyka' and 'glasnost' to prescribe us private lessons in the cause of socialism."

Werner Eberlein discusses the contribution of Magdeburg Bezirk to the GDR economy, increasing quality in machine building, construction work, cooperation between practical workers and scientists, and mentions the following economic data: "Today we can say that our goal to produce consumer goods for M170 million in excess of the plan in 1988 has been realized with M250 million. This also includes such popular consumer goods as 13,000 color television sets, 29,000 units of knitted underwear, and furniture."

Gerhard Mueller's speech contains the following passage referring to the GDR's friendship with the USSR:

"The workers class, the cooperative peasants, the women, the youth—yes, the overwhelming majority of the population of our country—understand very well that our party's prudent policy, which is based on Marxism-Leninism, the specific conditions of the GDR, and the good experiences of the fraternal socialist countries, is the guarantee for the high international reputation of the GDR, its political stability, its economic dynamism, and the high standard of living of its citizens.

"In this connection, they greatly value Comrade Erich Honecker's altruistic work to safeguard peace and to strengthen socialism.

"Our politically interested people realize to an increasing extent that—particularly because it is a politically stable socialist state—the GDR is the daily target of attacks by the Western mass media and all those to whom socialism and, especially, a strong socialist German state at the border to imperialism is a thorn in their flesh. It is, however, new to us and our citizens—as was mentioned yesterday here—that today we sometimes hear things from socialist countries, as shown by the example of SPUTNIK, which do harm to the strengthening of our community and are only of benefit to our political opponent. We say very clearly that those who defame the heroic struggle of the German communists and all antifascists against Hitlerite fascism, who distort the heroic history of the Soviet Union and its Leninist party, and who disparage socialism have no place in our country, no matter where they hold their speeches or write their articles and where these articles are printed. We also state very clearly that the German communists have held the friendship with the Soviet Union and the militant alliance with the CPSU sacred at all times, also during the most difficult times of their struggle. This will continue to be so.

"In view of the fact that at present the class struggle is escalating in the ideological sphere, we consider it necessary to pay even more attention in political work among the masses to dealing with the basic questions of our time, such as the safeguarding of peace, the character of our epoch, the relationship between class interests and general human interests, the nature of socialism, the history of the GDR, and the future tasks in further shaping the developed socialist society and strengthening our socialist community.

"Our working people understand the dialectics of the slogan 'The stronger socialism the more secure is peace' very well. They know that the success of the peace policy of socialism greatly depends on the political stability, the dynamic development of the economy, and on the social achievements of the countries of the socialist community. Therefore, they turn their workplaces into combat stations for peace and accomplish great achievements for the overall implementation of the decisions of the 11th SED Congress, in particular in the national economy."

He added: "Thus, by 31 October Erfurt Bezirk reached a plan lead in industrial goods production of M225 million. This corresponds to the output of 1.6 days. Compared with last year, industrial goods production rose to 105.4 percent. The net production plan was fulfilled 101.7 percent. This corresponds to a plan lead amounting to the output of 3.6 days. Compared with last year, net production rose to 198.9 percent. We raised labor productivity to 108.4 percent."

Werner Walde praises the party's trusting cooperation with all citizens, explains the contributions of Cottbus Bezirk to the GDR economy, and pays tribute to "the passionate dedication of our party and state leadership to the struggle for peace, detente, and disarmament." He also stresses that the "creative application of Marxism-Leninism to the conditions of our country and the mobilization of all forces of our party and our society for the strategic task—the further shaping of the developed socialist society—have made good progress despite the intensified attacks of the imperialists on socialism and other well-known turbulences."

He goes on to discuss the application of the key technologies in his bezirk and outlines the importance of investments in various economic areas.

Defense Minister Interviewed on Military Policy

LD1212235688 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1815 GMT 12 Dec 88

[Text] Some military policy information from the past days: Some of the Soviet troops stationed in Hungary are to be withdrawn. The formations remaining here will be stripped of their offensive character. The budget of the Hungarian People's Army will be reduced by 17 percent. What do the generals say about this? Colonel-General Ferenc Karpati, the minister of defense, and the freshly appointed head of the Political Main Group, Major-General Lajos Krasznai, reply.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified reporter] Does Hungary have a military doctrine?

[Karpati] There is one, of course, a defensive doctrine. We do not regard anyone as an enemy. We do not want to attack anyone. However, it is necessary to look at the structure, the arms, of the military forces which are at our disposal. And here, especially in Europe, in NATO and in the Warsaw Pact countries—to which we also belong—there also exist devices which are suitable for the offense. These must be eliminated.

[Reporter] Yes, but you know, very many people heard on the radio the reknowned military policy expert Lieutenant Colonel Szentesi, who said that the reduction of the strength of the Soviet troops stationed in Hungary, properly speaking, brings the declared goals, the doctrine of a defensive character, close to reality. So far we know that Soviet troops of a defensive character are in our country, and now we have learned that these have devices with offensive goals, and that precisely these devices—airborne assault units, tank (?divisions)—will be withdrawn from Hungary. Therefore, what is declared and practiced do not always correspond; we have now recognized this.

[Karpati] Look, soldiers do not always lay their cards out in statements. I believe that this is quite clear in the world. But you and others also know well how many B-52 bombers, how many missiles there are in Europe. What kind of devices are they?

But regarding who has what, I think before the negotiations between NATO and the Warsaw Pact countries begin next year, certainly within a short time everyone will put what he has on the table. If these talks begin, then they can only be substantive negotiations; and in the present world it is inconceivable for someone to speak about false data.

[Reporter] I had an opportunity to meet young military officers in private, and they said that they were not taken by surprise by defense expenditures being reduced. Second, for quite a long time young officers have been wondering if it is possible to rationalize the Hungarian Army, and quite a few have said that the Hungarian Army would need rationalization. A leaner army is better suited to a lean country.

[Karpati] Well, it will not be so lean as not to be able to accomplish its tasks. However, the other factor which we have to consider deeply, especially now, is the country's capacity to take on economic burdens. What can the country bear? It is also our duty to keep in mind that in order for the country to set off economically on the path to extricate ourselves from this nadir, we have to contribute. For this reason, we now have to [words indistinct] our requirements more tightly.

[Reporter] Is it not a defeat that they are reducing military expenditures? Do the generals not feel that they have suffered a defeat?

[Karpati] I think that we can not speak about any kind of defeat, but about judging the real situation. I would say that those who now are committed to the socialist social system, who fear for and protect the results we have achieved until now, are in favor of our army. They understand it very well, for example, the very many deputies who made contributions at the session of the defense committee last week. As for whether the Hungarian Army's preparedness, strength, is ensured for the defense of the homeland's independence and our social system, I would like to tell you, yes, in my best judjement.

[Reporter] Does the Hungarian People's Army also have a certain internal security role, task? Now, that its budget is decreasing—that according to our best knowledge 10 or so generals, 50-odd colonels have retired—can the Hungarian People's Army fulfill this?

[Karpati] I think that their having retired can not be linked to this, because these comrades are 60 years old or more and from a very young age they served the cause of the people very honorably. But regarding your question on whether there is an internal security role, every army in every country has such a task and role. The Hungarian People's Army is prepared for this.

[Reporter] You said the fact that several dozens of senior officers had retired, such large numbers, is not linked to the financial situation, that a smaller army means a smaller force of officers. Then, did political considerations perhaps play a role?

[Karpati] There is no question of that at all. Look, the issue here is that our officers corps were commissioned all at once, in a large number, in 1948 and 1949, as young people.

[Reporter] Is it a generation change?

[Karpati] [word indistinct] a generation change. By the way, it is quite a serious problem that they will reach 60-62 years simultaneously, like the ones who have now retired en masse, although behind them are very well prepared, younger people, who will be fully competent in the same positions.

[Reporter] So some generals and chief officers remain?

[Karpati] Some remain.

[Reporter] For example, how many top officers are there in this building? If not in this building, then in the Army?

[Karpati] Well, I could not tell you all of a sudden, but there are more than 50 generals in the Hungarian People's Army.

[Reporter] That, by the way, is what proportion? I read that in Latin America every 10th soldier is a general. How does this stand in our country?

[Karpati] There are great differences, because if you look at Cuba, there, for example, major is an extremely high grade. If we look at our Austrian neighbors, there, too, there are very few generals. If we go a little eastwards, there are enormous numbers of generals. This changes according to country.

[Reporter] It is now a generally known statistic that the Hungarian People's Army has roughly 105,000 soldiers, but correct me, if...

[Karpati interrupts] I do not want to correct you, because if that is what you know...

[Second reporter] I know of 200,000.

[Karpati] That is not true, it is excessive.

[First reporter] Then how many are there? Is it a secret, by the way?

[Karpati] Yes, I said earlier to you that I think that within a very short time, probably all kinds of statistics will be made public, not only on the Hungarian People's Army, but on every army of the Warsaw Pact. I would like to ask for a little patience from you.

[Reporter] But in the military statistics published in London, I believe that this statistic of 105,000 figures...

[Karpati interrupts] Not too many people read that. By the way, it is quite a good periodical.

[Reporter] So we should consider this 105,000 as authoritative.

[Karpati] It is quite a good figure.

[Reporter] We have now heard from you that the number of generals, chief officers has decreased. Is this strength decreasing, or is it, after all, the same?

[Karpati] It is now stable. Later, in the course of negotiations, I trust that it may decrease.

[Reporter] You said earlier that an old, great generation is leaving; I wonder if you might feel yourself to be in this generation?

[Karpati] Feel free to say it, because I, unfortunately, belong to it. Because I am over the age of 62.

[Reporter] Is it possible to conclude that perhaps there might be a change in the position of minister of defense?

[Karpati] When it happens—on the one hand, it does not pertain to me, for I am not the one who will decide this. However, I think that now, at the present moment, it is not on the agenda.

[Reporter] Maj Gen Lajos Krasznai, head of the Political Main Group, is a complete newcomer. How long have you been wearing the general's uniform?

[Krasznai] Since a week ago.

[Reporter] Is it not strange?

[Krasznai] Well, it is strange since I had not worn a uniform in the past decades. However, it is not strange in that earlier, I wore one for a good many years. I do not know if you know: I first put on a uniform at the age of 15, as a student of the Ferenc Rakoczi II Military Secondary School. So, this means that once, in 1954, I prepared for a military career. So then we were called small generals, since at that time there was a red stripe on the blue trousers. And my life later developed differently. I reached the point of being an active airman; I was a first-year student at the Gyorgy Killian (?Air Force Academy) in 1956. And when, after the'56 events, these military schools, colleges were transformed, reorganized, I entered civilian life. I have worked as a political worker for roughly 25 years of my 31-year active career.

[Reporter] The small general became a big general. I nevertheless have to ask how a reservist lieutenant colonel becomes a major general.

[Krasznai] By the Presidential Council promoting him, on the basis of certain considerations.

[Reporter] However, such an appointment can not entail military specialist knowledge.

[Krasznai] Not really. Not military specialist knowledge. But, how should I put it, the head of the Political Main Group is not the primary strategist in the Hungarian People's Army. That is why there is a chief of general staff. Perhaps I have to add that, after I worked as a party worker, as a district first secretary in Pest county, I attended the Miklos Zrinyi Military Academy. It was a 2-year course.

[Reporter] Do party workers have to complete this course?

[Krasznai] Not every one has to complete it, but there is such training for higher party and state leaders; and this training goes on now, as well, in quite scanty numbers. There are some who attend this on the basis of considerations of the Central Committee and competent leaders of the Ministry of Defense.

[Reporter] The minister of defense said earlier that no political considerations whatsoever can be seen in the fact that several dozen senior officers are retiring. But behind that, I believe that there might be some kind of political consideration in the appointment of a new head of the Political Main Department in the Hungarian People's Army, in the person of Lajos Krasznai, former Pest County first secretary. Or am I mistaken?

[Krasznai] Properly speaking, there is no political consideration in the manner the previous one left, because he, too, was one of those who had worn this uniform for nearly 40 years. Now, there may be—and I believe that there is—some political consideration in their having brought in a civilian, a civilian politician, to this post. This was shown to me when they said that I should accept this task because the further direction, advancement, of political work in the Hungarian People's Army continues to be important—it is important—based and built on old values. And perhaps a personality with different experience, political experience can bring new thoughts into this work; perhaps he can make initiatives in a direction which accords with the renewal of the Army.

[Reporter] Not long ago we heard that in the Soviet Union, the next minister of defense will be a civilian. Is it conceivable that a civilian might direct the Hungarian generals in the coming period?

[Krasznai] Properly speaking, everything is conceivable in principle. I could not say in what direction or how the political reform process will progress, or what results this will bring. However, obviously the highest political and state organs will decide on this at the time.

[Reporter] One of the most important elements of the party program is the necessity to separate the party and the state. Very much is heard about direct party direction having ceased in certain ministries—for example, most recently in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. How can the Ministry of Defense, which, let us say, is the buttress of the system, along with the police, react to this challenge, or to this theoretical-ideological change?

[Krasznai] We, too, have to study how it is possible modernize the system of political institutions within the Hungarian People's Army. As far as I know in the first half of next year the Hungarian People's Army's Party Committee will discuss the proposal of how we want or wish the structure and operation of the system of political institutions within the Hungarian People's Army to develop.

[Karpati] It is necessary to bring it closer to changes that are taking place in society. Naturally we have certain provisos. We are not planning alternative organizations here, in the army, in the future, either.

[Reporter] And if a young soldier, a member of the FIDESZ [Federation of Young Democrats] comes in?

[Karpati] Yes, if a young soldier who is a member of FIDESZ comes in, he will continue this, that is—if he goes away on leave, I think that he will then take part in the activity, work, going on there. Within the army, his conception, opinion, thinking, etc, will remain, and probably will constitute the subject of debate in the course of work and political training that goes on here. However, there will be no possibility for this organizationally.

[Reporter] Therefore, a freedom of outlook will prevail within certain frameworks.

[Karpati] Well, this can not be prohibited by anyone. What he can proclaim here, or how he can influence his fellow soldiers, is another question. [end recording]

MSZMP's Szuros Addresses Party Activists

LD1212222488 Budapest MTI in English 2105 GMT 12 Dec 88

[Text] Budapest, December 12 (MTI)—A conference of communist activists was held in Puspokladany Monday afternoon. The meeting was addressed by Matyas Szuros, secretary of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party.

He analysed the world political situation and appreciated the new way of political thinking gaining ground in the world. The most important lesson is that war cannot be the means of continuing policy, he said.

The CC secretary pointed out that Hungary, due to its geostrategic and home political situation, may play a role of coordinator and be a testing ground in the disarmament of conventional weapons. According to the concept of the Soviet Union and the collated platform of the Warsaw Treaty, the reduction of conventional troops and armaments is viable in four stages.

Hungary proposed that in its territory the strength of Soviet troops should be reduced already in the first stage, Mr Szuros said.

The speech of Mikhail Gorbachev delivered in the UNO ensures a realistic possibility for this, which means that over the next two years the Soviet armed forces stationed here will be cut by a fourth, or possibly by a third. Hungary accepted to be a testing ground for the international inspection of the implementation of disarmament measures, and it considers conceivable even a unilateral disarmament which fits into the pan-European processes.

Answering questions, Matyas Szuros said in connection with the problem of Romanian settlement policy affecting the minorities that nationalism becomes the gravest problem if raised to the level of official policy, which is the case in Romania.

He said that Hungary's policy towards Romania has changed, and now all talks, measures and the Romanian responses are made public. Besides, we are trying to win a kind of international sympathy, and this conduct appears to be disturbing the Romanian side. On this issue our efforts are followed with sympathy by entire Europe.

KISZ Demonstration for Better Housing 6 Dec

AU0912195288 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 7 Dec 88 p 4

[Unattributed report: "One Must To Live Somewhere! —Demonstration for Better Housing Conditions"]

[Text] A demonstration was organized on Margit Island in Budapest on 6 December to protest the adverse housing conditions for youth, an event meant for the KISZ-government meeting to be held on 7 December. Some 300 people responded to the appeal of the KISZ Central Committee and Budapest Committee and gathered in front of the fountain on Margit Island.

The young people who came from Budapest and almost every corner of the country set up cardboard blocks of flats with slogans painted on their sides. Participants in the demonstration could read various slogans like "We would like to have decent housing!"; Why are we expected to work well when we have no place to live?"; "We have ideas but no housing. You have housing, but no ideas!"

Laszlo Mandur, secretary of the KISZ Budapest Committee, greeted the participants on behalf of the organizers and told them that young people have been demonstrating all over the country recently to protest the increasingly hopeless housing conditions, and clearly stating that they want to put pressure on the government to change the currently unfavorable conditions for the young people to acquire a home of their own. Clearly aware that all the strata of young people—irrespective of their world outlook and ideological position—are interested in establishing their own home, KISZ also proposed cooperation with organizations whose political platforms differ from that of KISZ. As a result of their common stand, demonstrations were organized in every county, and these demonstrations have led to results even if the number of participants was smaller than expected almost everywhere. For example, expressing their dissatisfaction, young people in Vas County gathered only 1,000 signatures in Szombathely, and only 1,500 signatures in Ozd. However, this does not mean that the young people are not interested in the housing situation. This is more a sign that they do not believe that much can be achieved through such events, the delegates from various counties stressed and confirmed the housing policy ideas formulated by the KISZ central bodies.

The small number of people gathering in the square listened attentively to the delegates' speeches but the audience voiced neither agreement nor dissatisfaction with the aforementioned speeches. The first applause was given to a member of the organizational committee who spoke on behalf of the Council of Former State Care Children and who said that, in his view, one of the possible ways of advancing this issue would be if the state gave up 1 percent of its income deriving from the distribution of alcoholic beverages and used some of the ensuing 129 million forints to ease the housing problems of people formerly under state care. The participants also expressed their satisfaction with the idea of recording their speeches on a video recorder set up near the stage and playing the tape at the meeting between the heads of the KISZ and of the government. However, no one has made use of this possibility as of this newspaper's edition going to press.

The sales of brick-notes were also minimal, although the organizers intended to use the sums from this sale for easing the housing problems of people who were formerly under state care.

KISZ First Secretary Returns From Italy

LD1212215588 Budapest MTI in English 2048 GMT 12 Dec 88

[Text] Budapest, December 12 (MTI)—Monday evening Imre Nagy, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Youth Union of Hungary (KISZ) returned to Budapest after attending the 24th congress of the Italian Communist Youth Union in Bologna. He held talks with Gianni Cuperlo, the new general secretary of the union, with other leaders of the youth organization, as well as with representatives of the Bologna party organization and leaders of the communist municipal council. He met Achille Occhetto, general secretary of the Italian Communist Party, and Claudio Petroccioli, member of the Secretariat of the Italian Communist Party.

Imre Nagy told the MTI correspondent in Rome that it was not accidental that his first trip after his election was to Italy, as KISZ ascribes outstanding importance, besides the Soviet Komsomol, to relations with the

Italian Communist Youth Union. This is the strongest youth organization in Western Europe, seeking renewal in ways similar in many respect to the Hungarian.

De Clercq Heads EEC Group, Session Opens

Received by Miklos Nemeth

LD1212190788 Budapest MTI in English
1711 GMT 12 Dec 88

[Text] Budapest, December 12 (MTI)—Miklos Nemeth, chairman of the Council of Ministers, met Willy de Clercq, member of the EC commission in charge of external relations and trade agreements in Budapest's parliament on Monday. Mr De Clercq is heading the EEC delegation to the first session of the Joint committee set up under the Hungary-EEC agreement on Trade and Economic Cooperation.

The cordial discussion was attended by Rezso Nyers, minister of state, and Tamas Beck, minister of trade, head of the Hungarian delegation to the session.

Meets Karoly Grosz

LD1212190888 Budapest MTI in English
1719 GMT 12 Dec 88

[Text] Budapest, December 12 (MTI)—Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, met Willy de Clercq, member of the EC Commission in Charge of external relations and trade agreements, currently heading an EEC delegation to Hungary, in Budapest Monday evening. Present at the meeting was Tamas Beck, minister of trade.

Holds Discussion With Grosz

LD1212221988 Budapest MTI in English
1905 GMT 12 Dec 88

[Text] Budapest, December 12 (MTI)—As reported, Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, met Willy de Clercq, member of the EC Commission in charge of external relations and trade agreements, who is currently heading an EEC delegation to Budapest.

The HSWP general secretary welcomed the conclusion of the Hungary-EEC trade and cooperation accord as a major political event which furnishes a sound basis for the expansion of relations between Hungary and the European Economic Community. Hungary is interested in the long-term development of cooperation, and seeks to participate more efficiently in the European and broader international processes by utilizing its national endowments.

Mr Grosz stressed that in the interest of intensifying European cooperation and combatting the dividedness of the continent, Hungary is also ready to improve ties with the European Parliament and the Council of Europe.

Mr De Clerq pointed out that the EEC follows with great interest and welcomes the efforts to renew Hungarian economy and society, the attainment of which will create better conditions for the development of political and economic links between Hungary and the EEC, too.

First Session Opens

LD1212135988 Budapest MTI in English
1220 GMT 12 Dec 88

[Excerpt] Budapest, December 11, 1988 (MTI-ECONEWS)—The first familiarization session of the Hungary-EEC joint committee opened in Budapest on Monday. The agreement on commercial and economic cooperation between Hungary and the EEC, signed on September 26 in Brussels, the first of its kind between the European communities and a CMEA member, came into force on December 1st, and from now on, the annual session of the joint committee will alternate between Budapest and Brussels.

Mr Tamas Beck, Hungarian minister of trade and co-chairman of the joint committee, said in his opening address that developing relations between Hungary and the EEC gave a big fillip to further the Hungarian economic reform process. "The reforms will mean a number of sacrifices from the Hungarian people and will cause some political tension, too, but the Hungarian government accepts full responsibility," he stressed.

The Hungary-EEC agreement should not be viewed in isolation, as it provides a much wider range of opportunities, given Hungary's geographical situation in Europe, the minister added.

The agreement is very important for Hungary, because it will create the conditions for collaboration between the parties based on equality and non-discrimination, Mr Beck continued.

Mr Willy de Clercq, European commissioner for external relations and co-chairman of the joint committee, used the epithet "revolutionary" to describe the changes which had occurred in East-West relations in Europe during the past few years. The agreement between Hungary and the EEC was one of these changes, he said.

He acknowledged that the EEC was Hungary's largest trading partner in the West, and second only to the Soviet Union worldwide. He stressed that the agreement could go a long way to create a favourable climate for trade and industrial cooperation, but warned against expecting too much from it. The future depended to a large extent on Hungary's ability to modernize and to deal with Western firms in more advanced forms. He deplored the fact that 58 per cent of Hungarian engineering products were more than six years old, and 37 per cent more than ten. According to Mr de Clercq, smaller enterprises in Hungary, be they private or cooperative, were the natural partners for community firms. The production of Hungarian industrial cooperatives went up by 10 per cent last year, whilst overall growth in the industry was 3.7 per cent, he explained.

In reply to Mr Beck's wish to see equitable conditions in agricultural trade, Mr de Clercq warned that in this field, "all parties are looking for progress in the multilateral context".

He emphasized that, however much the EEC appreciated Hungarian openness and market-oriented reforms, it "will not be pressured into compromising legitimate considerations of confidentiality or security in accordance with international practice". [passage omitted]

Session Goals Outlined

*LD1212220088 Budapest MTI in English
1602 GMT 12 Dec 88*

[Text] Budapest, December 12 (MTI)—As reported earlier, the joint committee of Hungary and the European Economic Community (EEC) opened a session in Budapest on Monday.

Welcoming the participants, Minister of Trade Tamas Beck emphasized that the Hungarian reforms can only be realized as part of wide-scale international cooperation. In this context EEC partnership is important.

The joint committee has two functions. It has to enforce the regulations of the agreement, namely the gradual removal of the discriminative quantitative restrictions, and to establish new forms and methods of cooperation. In this respect it would be important for the community not to regard Hungary as a country with state-controlled trade. In view of Hungary's economic life and legal regulations, the qualification can no longer be applied, Mr Beck said.

The session of the joint committee offers the first opportunity for the community to declare whether it is prepared to grant agricultural concessions and mutual tax reductions. Hungary is ready to change concessions accordingly, Mr Beck said.

Taking the floor, Willy De Clercq, who is in charge of external relations and trade policy within the EEC Commission, sought to dissipate fears that the EEC would become a 'European fortress' after 1992. The removal of economic boundaries and barriers within the EEC member states would entail a larger and broader market and considerably lower costs for the trading partners of the community. Mr De Clercq said that Hungary's export possibilities mainly depend on whether industry can be modernized, and more advanced forms of cooperation with Western firms established. According to Mr De Clercq, the most promising partners might be the flexible small companies and small cooperatives.

Hungarian-EEC Cooperation Discussed

*LD1212222088 Budapest MTI in English
1852 GMT 12 Dec 88*

[Text] Budapest, December 12 (MTI)—In the afternoon the West European businessmen attending the session, met in a roundtable with Hungarian company managers in the organization of the Hungarian Chamber of Commerce. Andras Gabor, president of the Hungarian Chamber of Commerce, stressed that the recent agreement of the European Economic Community and Hungary was bringing a qualitative change into the system of Hungary's external economic relations. Cooperation with the particular EEC members has been favourable even so far. The chamber has also carried on decades of successful cooperation with the chambers and trade promotion institutes of the member states. It is hoped that the agreement will provide Hungarian companies a considerably easier access to the market. In addition to the planned cut of customs tariffs and the gradual elimination of impediments to trade development, a few other conditions would also have to be improved. Such is a change in the visa practice, because at present it obstructs even the maintenance of normal business links. The waiting time for a visa often reaches 3-4 weeks, while businessmen coming from EEC countries receive the entry visa immediately at the Hungarian border and in 48 hours at most at the consulates. It would also be helpful if the member states made the most favourable visa procedure uniform for Hungarian travellers, said the President of the Hungarian Chamber of Commerce.

In connection with the work of the joint committee, Willy de Clercq said they were looking for ways and means of considerably expanding industrial cooperation. A survey is being conducted on practical obstacles hindering the development of cooperation, and the necessary measures to extend East-West ventures are being examined. In future more delegations of businessmen are to come to Hungary, and they also wish to provide help in the training of company managers.

At the roundtable Willy de Clercq pointed out that in principle there is no obstacle for Hungarian companies to participate in the African relief schemes organized by the EEC.

With regard to the liberalization of trade in agricultural products, Mr De Clercq reminded participants that the market relations do not yet prevail in agricultural trade within the European Economic Community. The granting of high subsidies has led to the accumulation of considerable surpluses. For this reason, work has begun to create a regulation that will provide for the enforcement of market effects also in the production of farm and food products. Here the agricultural prices set in the EEC countries are to be brought closer to the world market prices in the long run. The export subventions will be gradually curtailed, and the taxes on food import reduced. In a longer perspective, this new agrarian policy will create more favourable conditions also for Hungary in the trade of agricultural products.

The session of the joint committee will continue on Tuesday.

Pledges of Further Aid to Armenia Made

LD1212215088 Budapest MTI in English
1936 GMT 12 Dec 99

[Text] Budapest, December 12 (MTI)—Pledges are being made throughout Hungary to assist the victims of the natural disaster in Armenia.

The Gyor municipal council has voted a special support worth 500,000 forints, and the Teka book sales company transferred 100,000 forints of aid and organized voluntary blood-giving for its workers.

The teachers and pupils of the primary school of Berhida have issued an appeal to the teachers and pupils of all Hungarian primary schools to help restore the Armenian schools and teachers' flats and supply the children in trouble.

Varkonyi Returns From Philippines, PRC

LD1112172888 Budapest MTI in English
1617 GMT 11 Dec 88

[Text] Budapest, December 11 (MTI)—Peter Varkonyi, Hungarian minister of foreign affairs, concluded his official visit to the Republic of the Philippines and the People's Republic of China and arrived home on Sunday.

Favorable Commentary on Gorbachev Proposal

Called 'Great Chance'

LD1212223688 Warsaw PAP in English 2151 GMT 12 Dec 88

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 12—Mikhail Gorbachev's statement on a unialteral reduction of troops and armaments and on withdrawing part of Soviet forces stationed on the territories of other countries was assessed from the military point of view by Colonel Marian Moraczewski.

The statement stems from the new philosophy of security and comes as a consequence of earlier policies aimed at a prospective liquidation of nuclear weapons, at bringing military potentials to the lowest possible level, and at giving armed forces a clearly defensive character, Colonel Moraczewski told PAP.

Gorbachev's statement, positively assessed in the West, should help overcome the deadlock in the Vienna talks which, as a matter of fact, have for fifteen years failed to bring about the reduction of at least one soldier or tank, whereas Gorbachev, motivated by an entirely new approach to, has at once greatly advanced on this road.

This is another great chance for the world towards the building of confidence. After all, also our state leadership is heading in this direction which can be proved by the Polish plan to reduce armaments and increase confidence in central Europe, and the decisions by the November meeting of the National Defence Committee.

In reply to a question why the decision to withdraw part of Soviet troops stationed on the territories of other Warsaw Treaty states does not apply to Poland Moraczewski said:

To withdraw Soviet troops temporarily stationed on the Polish territory would be of lesser significance as far as NATO is concerned for a few obvious reasons.

Poland does not lie next to the NATO-Warsaw Treaty divide, and so this would be a withdrawal from within, as it were, and not from the foremost periphery. Troop reductions are concordant with the Polish idea of creating zones with a rarefied concentration of arms characterized by features conducive to offensive moves. And finally, there are relatively small Soviet contingents stationed on the Polish territory, and so their withdrawal would to a lesser degree express the authenticity of the intention of the declared defensive doctrine.

One should also assume that the announced restructuring of Soviet forces with a view to giving them a clearly defensive character will also apply to those Soviet troops which are stationed in Poland.

Withdrawal Offer Hailed

AU1212164788 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 8 Dec 88 p 3

[Colonel Jerzy Markowski commentary: "After Nuclear—Conventional"]

[Text] It is no exaggeration at all to say that the world has waited for this speech with a feeling of tension, and not just because this was the first time in 28 years that a Soviet leader has addressed international society on the banks of the Hudson River. As we say in Poland, there was something important in the air, something important for Europe and the world. It could be felt, though no one knew exactly what it was. The truth was to be revealed on the UN rostrum. And it was.

In his speech, a very businesslike one, by the way, Mikhail Gorbachev tackled practically every single important problem of today, at the same time as which he presented the view from Moscow in the context of the new political thinking. One can say that this speech provided enlightenment and was a first-class lesson to anyone who did not know what this new political thinking was all about. The fact that this speech was made on the very eve of the first anniversary of the historic Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles in Europe was not insignificant. In a way, this even served to emphasize the issue of controlling arms and disarmament.

I think the Soviet proposals are a milestone on the road to consolidating the disarmament process. Did anyone expect the Soviet Union to present international society with such a far-reaching unilateral reduction of conventional armed forces and armaments? Let us be honest with ourselves and say that we did not expect it.

"The Soviet Union has decided to reduce its armed forces," said M. Gorbachev. "Over the next 2 years, their numerical status will diminish by 500,000 men, and there will also be a major reduction in conventional weapons. These reductions will be carried out unilaterally, regardless of the Vienna talks." It is certain that not even the Americans expected to hear this. Withdrawing and disbanding six armored divisions from the GDR, CSSR, and Hungary, together with airborne storm units and pioneer units, has a distinct message. We are not going to quote the number of tanks, shells, and aircraft. They are known. Instead, let us consider what this means from a military point of view.

Someone will say that 500,000 men out of an army of millions is not a lot, and will alter nothing. Yet this is the size of the armed forces of one of the largest and most important members of NATO. It is the size of the Bundeswehr. If we divide this number among the other members of this alliance, it means sending home the entire armies of Belgium, the Netherlands, Norway, Luxembourg, Canada, Portugal, Denmark, and Greece together—half of NATO. Is that still not a lot?

The second, perhaps the more important side to this matter. Let us consider where these forces are going to be withdrawn from, and why. They are going to be withdrawn from the point of contact between the two largest military groups. What does this prove? It proves that disarmament consists not only of words, but also deeds. If the USSR says that it has no offensive plans against any country, but will purely implement its defense doctrine, then these words have now been confirmed by deeds, because the withdrawing of what are mainly armored resources and weapons systems, capable of making the adversary suspicious of hostile intentions and become mistrustful, fully confirms the declarations of the past. One cannot fail to notice this.

Furthermore, the announcement that accumulations of Soviet Armed Forces in the European and Asian part of the USSR, most of all in Mongolia, shows that Moscow accords the same serious treatment to peace as it does to international security. At the same time, it confirms the cardinal principle that the use of force or a threat to use force cannot be and need not be a tool of foreign policy in today's world. The realistic three-point proposal to finally settle the Afghan problem confirms this.

But getting back to the subject of arms and disarmament, one should underline a certain novelty indicated by the Soviet leader—the conversion of weapons production. The Soviet Union is ready to work out and present, on the basis of its own experience, plans for such a conversion, and let international society judge them. This literally means fashioning swords into plowshares. Is this not something which deserves the attention of today's governments? Can mankind not afford to expend its creative initiative in this direction?

The rule of global processes is such that both sides must give the casting vote. The Soviet Union did not look to the United States when presenting its far-reaching proposals. For the point is to provide new impetus to conventional disarmament, which is the most important priority after nuclear disarmament. A businesslike approach toward this issue is evident in the Soviet proposals. The USSR is not counting on immediate reciprocity. It expects, and has the right to expect, further reductions via mutual international talks. Of course, this involves Soviet-American relations. And here the USSR assured a continuation of dialogue in a spirit of realism, openness, and goodwill. Looking at these latest proposals, it is difficult to deny that one side has displayed these qualities.

Intellectuals on Speech

AU1312152388 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 10-11 Dec 88 p 1

[Roundup of statements made to TRYBUNA LUDU by Polish intellectuals on the speech by Mikhail Gorbachev at the 43d Session of the United Nations Organization: "Polish Intellectuals on the USSR Disarmament Plans Announced at the United Nations"]

[Text] The speech made by Mikhail Gorbachev at the 43d session of the United Nations Organization with its profound humanist substance and the new vision that it contained of a world of universal consensus without violence and hackneyed stereotypes has aroused keen interest in Poland. This is what TRYBUNA LUDU was told on the subject of the speech by representatives of our intellectual life who took part in the memorable meeting between M. Gorbachev and Polish intellectuals at Warsaw Castle on 14 July 1988:

Bogdan Suchodolski: We humanists are not familiar with military technology and the strategy of using it to achieve peace, but what we do know is what peace means for people and for culture.

Mikhail Gorbachev's latest proposals are a continuation of his systematic efforts to achieve stability and bring about peace in the world.

Even before they can be realized, these proposals already comprise part of our awareness at both the social and the individual levels. They are even more important in that they allay people's fears, fears that the world will be destroyed, that culture will be destroyed, and that the human race will be destroyed.

The proposals are a source of new elements in social awareness. They provide the long sought after psychological stability. They increase people's desire to live and to work.

Ryszard Wojna: The idea of the supremacy of universal humanism over what we call class, doctrinal truths actually permeates all of Mikhail Gorbachev's new thinking. Essentially, this represents a return to the roots and sense of socialism.

What Mikhail Gorbachev said at the United Nations Organization in New York was already present in the speech that he made at the 19th Extraordinary All-Union CPSU Conference. On this occasion, Gorbachev formulated concrete and universal principles for the coexistence of states and peoples within a new international situation.

Wojciech Zurkowski: Numbers are comparable, but it is not possible to compare various values that conceal different destructive capacities: It is not possible to convert missiles into tanks, aircraft into guns, but that is what was being done. This provided a great opportunity for drawing out bargaining and reproaching the Warsaw Pact for having more bayonets, for example. Of course, a bayonet symbolizes a soldier. These calculations, conversions have gone on for years...

With one proposal, Gorbachev has put a stop to all this haggling among experts. These are reductions in what is within reach, as it is usually put, because the arsenals away from the point of contact remain and ensure that each side has adequate security.

Why should these arsenals be constantly increased, when they can never be used? These weapons are becoming obsolete. They represent billions, and an enormous amount of intellectual and physical effort that is being wasted.

To my mind, Gorbachev's proposals represent a milestone on the road to ensuring that people can live in peace.

Aid for Victims of Armenian Earthquake Reported

Government Spokesman on Aid

LD1212220188 Warsaw PAP in English 1942 GMT 12 Dec 88

[Text] Warsw, Dec. 12—In connection with the relief operation for the Armenian earthquake victims, Deputy Government Press Spokesman Zbyslaw Rykowski stated, among other things:

The Office of the Council of Ministers continues to receive declarations of help for Armenia affected by the tragic earthquake. Specialists voice their readiness to leave for Armenia and work on the spot, Polish families want Armenian children to spend Christmas at their homes.

The government sees in this universal concern the confirmation of human solidarity that overcomes all divisions.

We maintain permanent contacts with the Soviet authorities and we will make use of this spontaneous need to help in agreement with the Soviet Union, said he.

The government Economic Committee decided to provide aid for the Armenian earthquake victims also from the state funds. The value of things sent already exceeded a quarter of a billion zlotys. Poland sends teams of specialists who will take part in rescue operations.

Also, all parcels with gifts sent from Poland are free of any charges. Financial payments are also exempt from duties.

Zielona Gora Gives Aid

LD1212163488 Zielona Gora Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 12 Dec 88

[Text] Inhabitants of the region are reporting to Gorzow and Zielona Gora Polish Red Cross centers with clothes, mattresses, and blankets for Armenia, which has been struck by disaster. The items will be sorted and placed in special foil bags. Next, they will be sent to Warsaw. Potential blood donors are also reporting to blood donor centers. Today, for example, students from the Zielona Gora Higher Pedagogical School, girls from the medical secondary school, and officials of the motorized reserves of the civic militia turned up at the voivodship blood donor station in Zielona Gora. Lubusz enterprises have offered considerable aid. The Zbaszynek Romeo presented 1 million zloties and clothing to the solidarity fund; a Nowa Sol factory 1 tonne of thread, Polska Welna 130 blankets, Swiebodzin orchards 10 tonnes of apples, and the Kozuchow state farm 15 tonnes of potatoes, 5 tonnes of apples and 500,000 zloties. The Zielona Gora section of the Polish Disabled Society also presented 250,000 zlotys.

A center for receiving gifts was opened today in the headquarters of the voivodship board of the Union of Polish Socialist Youth in Gorzow. The organization has funded a monthly stay in the region during the holiday period for five Armenian children. These are only some examples of the solidarity of the inhabitants of the mid-Odra region with the population of South Armenia.

Soviet Nuclear Safety Expert Arrives

LD0612222988 Warsaw PAP in English 2129 GMT 6 Dec 88

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 6—Vadim Malyshev, chairman of the Soviet State Committee for Nuclear Power Safety, arrived in Warsaw today.

Malyshev took part in today's meeting attended by experts who work on the construction of Poland's first nuclear power plant in Zarnowiec.

The meeting, chaired by head of the state atomic agency Mieczyslaw Sowinski, was attended by top officials of the state nuclear monitoring, management members of the "Zarnowiec" nuclear power plant under construction and the management of the planned second Polish nuclear power plant.

Experts discussed key problems linked with the security of nuclear power installations.

During his visit, Vadim Malyshev is to acquaint himself with the problems of the nuclear safety supervision in Poland and with the construction of the "Zarnowiec" plant.

Malyshev's visit coincides with a planned meeting of chairmen of nuclear monitoring agencies from CMEA countries.

Official Attends London Trade Talks

AU2911150788 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 25 Nov 88 p 6

[PAP dispatch by Marian Kuklinski: "Polish-British Talks in London"]

[Text] London—Andrzej Wojcik, secretary of state in the Ministry of Foreign Economic Cooperation, visited London at the invitation of the London Chamber of Commerce and Industry on 21-24 November. He met with various officials, including Francis Maude, under secretary of state in the Ministry of Trade and Industry; his deputy David Dell; James Cleminson, chairman of the Foreign Trade Council; and Lord Jellicoe, chairman of the Council for East European Trade.

During a conference organized by the Chamber of Commerce and Industry, which was attended by representatives of British economic circles, A. Wojcik discussed the present stage of changes in Polish foreign trade and in the fiscal and currency system. He also discussed these changes at a meeting with leading members of large British firms, financial institutions, and banks, which was organized by the Confederation of British Industry.

A. Wojcik also had talks with leaders of some British banks interested in cooperation with Poland and met with the leadership of the British concerns such as British Petroleum, the International Computers Ltd, Rank-Xerox, and others, which have been cooperating with Poland for a long time now.

Prime Minister M. Thatcher's visit to Poland has decisively boosted the British economic circles' interest in Poland, and her statements on the British Government's policy vis-a-vis our country have been positively interpreted in Britain and are not regarded as containing any hints that cooperation with Poland is not desirable, A. Wojcik said to your PAP correspondent in London. That interest was confirmed by the fact that A. Wojcik's meeting with commercial, financial, and industrial circles were attended by large numbers of personalities, many of whom were attending such meetings for the first time, which is worth noting. Although those personalities were cautious because our situation vis-a-vis the IMF has still not been normalized, they expressed their obvious interest in making a more vigorous entry into our market. This entry will certainly be speeded up by the British Technology Days in Poland, which will be held on a large scale in Poland in 1989. In addition, at least 3 or 4 British firms plan to open offices in Poland.

Walesa Continues Paris Human Rights Visit

11 Dec Activities Reported

LD1112223588 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 11 Dec 88

[Report by Michal Walczak in Paris]

[Text] Lech Walesa's and Andrey Sakharov's stay in Paris at the invitation of the president of France, for the celebrations of the 40th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, is still the center of interest of the local media here. Late yesterday evening Francois Mitterrand received both his guests at the Elysee Palace.

This morning Lech Walesa attended mass at a Paris Polish church. Then he met the Archbishop of Paris, Cardinal Jean-Marie Lustiger. Relating this conversation, AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE stressed that the cardinal had pointed out that the Poles see the West merely through the prism of its high economic development. On his part, Walesa, acknowledging the economic successes of the Western countries and the functioning of personal freedoms, took up the issue of the crisis of spiritual and moral values in these societies. Lech Walesa also met today with the leaderships of the main trade unions of France, with the exception of the left-wing CGT—General Workers Federation—the largest French union.

More on Walesa's Activities

LD1112224088 Warsaw PAP in English 2127 GMT 11 Dec 88

[Text] Paris, Dec. 11—Lech Walesa who had arrived in Paris for ceremonies marking the 40th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, was received by President of France Francois Mitterrand at the Elysee Palace here.

The spokesman for the presidential office said that the 30-minute talk concerned generally understood human rights, the current situation in Poland and the spiritual values linking Western and Eastern Europe.

Lech Walesa was also received by French Premier Michel Rocard. He met with Director General of the International Labour Office Francis Blanchard, president of the American Federation of Labour and Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO) Lane Kirkland and with Deputy Secretary-General of the World Confederation of Labour Flor Bleux. He also held talks with leaders of French trade union organizations except, as noted by the ASSOCIATED PRESS, the biggest of them, pro-communist General Confederation of Labour (CGT).

Late on Saturday evening, Lech Walesa met with FRG's Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, at the latter's initiative.

Today, Walesa was received by archbishop of Paris, Jean Marie Lustiger.

Walesa also met with Andrey Sakharov. In his interview for the French television and in a short statement made in the Lassay Palace, Lech Walesa expressed his support for perestroyka. While answering a question from a representative of the Paris TV Channel One, Walesa said that he is eager to improve his relations with the (Polish) Government.

Received by Mitterrand, Sakharov

LD1112205088 Warsaw PAP in English
1837 GMT 11 Dec 88

[Text] Paris, Dec. 11—As reported earlier, ceremonies marking the 40th anniversary of the proclamation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights were held in Paris on Saturday.

The main ceremony was held at the Chaillot Palace, the very same palace where 40 years ago this significant document was proclaimed. U.N. Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar, who on behalf of the U.N. peace-keeping forces was receiving this year's Nobel Peace Prize award in Oslo also on Saturday, was among the guests invited by President Francois Mitterrand. Head of the French state also invited winners of the Nobel Peace Prize Professor Andrey Sakharov and Lech Walesa.

Polish Ambassador to France Janusz Stefanowicz, long-time member of the International Court of Justice in The Hague Professor Manfred Lachs, general secretary of the World Federation of U.N. Friendship Societies Marek Hagmajer and Vice-Chairman of the Main Board of the Polish Society of U.N Friends Andrzej Nartowski were among personalities of the political, economical, cultural and scientific world invited to attend the ceremonies.

In a speech delivered at the Chaillot Palace, Francois Mitterrand said that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights became mankind's joint heritage. France will support all proposals aimed to increase the role of the United Nations Organization which would permit the U.N., among other things, to carry out field research missions to observe whether human rights are observed and to publicly announce reports of these mission, for silence is an ally of oppression, stressed President Mitterrand.

Javier Perez de Cuellar said that the United Nations is ready to consolidate cooperation with non-government international organizations in the struggle for the respect of human rights and dignity. Today, the defence of human rights comes down to throw light even on the most hidden crimes, said the U.N. secretary general.

On Saturday night, President Francois Mitterrand received at the Elysee Palace participants in the observances, including Nobel prize winners Andrey Sakharov and Lech Walesa. Hagmajer was also present.

Seeks Improvement of Relations

LD1012125088 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1105 GMT 10 Dec 88

[Excerpts] (Walczak) This is Michal Walczak in Paris for the noon magazine program. The ceremony to commemorate the 40th anniversary of the UN Universal Declaration on Human Rights will take place late this afternoon in the Palais de Chaillot on the Place du Trocadero. [passage omitted]

Nobel Peace Prize winners Lech Walesa and Andrey Sakharov, invited to Paris by the President of France, are the most popular with the Paris newspapers, radio, and television. [passage omitted]

Lech Walesa, after flying into Paris, was invited to the main evening news program on French television's Channel One. Walesa answered questions and expressed the wish that his relations with the power centers in Poland will improve. [passage omitted]

Supports Reforms, Perestroyka

LD1212233388 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
2215 GMT 12 Dec 88

[Correspondent Michal Walczak Paris report]

[Text] Lech Walesa's visit to Paris has ended. As is known, he was invited by French President Francois Mitterrand to a ceremony marking the 40th anniversary of the Universal Declaration on Human Rights. He met with Andrey Sakharov, who, on his return journey from the United States to Moscow, stopped off, also at the invitation of Mitterrand, in the French capital. Of course, as could have been expected, the stay in Paris of both these Nobel Peace Prize laureates received unprecedently extensive coverage by their hosts. Their every step was conscientiously followed by the local mass media. However, in circles far from the ruling socialist party, both to its left and right, one could hear the opinion that such a ceremonial, and thus organized celebrations of this anniversary, are, in significant measure, a propaganda exercise.

For France, of course, it was to reinforce its image in the world, but it was also for the sake of the people ruling it today, for the sake of the Socialists in power. [passage omitted]

Lech Walesa, as I mentioned, had an innumerable number of meetings. I took part in two of them, from the start to the end, with the Paris Polonia and with journalists from many countries. Walesa expressed himself positively about the current development of the situation in the country, and about recent activities. He spoke as the spokesman of national accord and compromise. He supported the reforms recently introduced in Poland, reforms must bring results.

Precisely this tone in the public statements of Lech Walesa in Paris is worthy of note, especially if we remember how often he was still recently capable of saying surprisingly different things. Here in Paris, in these statements in question, Walesa presented himself as the spokesman of national dialogue [rzecznik narodowego dialogue].

Not much from this tone of his statements got through into the French media. This is worth remembering, too.

Discourages Strike Action

LD1212144188 Paris Domestic Service in French 1200 GMT 12 Dec 88

[Text] Lech Walesa, who is currently in Paris for the 40th anniversary of the Human Rights Declaration, at the same time as Andrey Sakharov, considers the time has come to eradicate the vestiges of Stalinism in their respective countries. Both of them spoke of it yesterday during their first meeting, but Lech Walesa does not think this may be achieved through a revolution. The Solidarity founder was rather conciliatory and measured towards the leaders of his country and he was the same at a news conference this morning. Pierre Veil was present:

Our political system is heading in the right direction, but it is travelling on foot while the rest of the world is travelling by car, said Lech Walesa at the start of his news conference. There was no virulent attack on the Polish authorities in his speech. We are in favor of entente and compromise, we are against nobody, we want to succeed on legal bases, he explained, but pluralism is absolutely necessary. He thinks a process of reforms has already started, that it may take a long time but that things are moving in Poland and the Soviet perestroyka represents hope. Walesa also stressed that one should not go on strike at this moment in Poland; strikes harm society, they must only be used as the ultimate weapon.

Lech Walesa certainly intends to return to France and plans to meet—whom he describes as his adolescent dream girl—Brigitte Bardot.

Returns Home 12 Dec

LD1212234988 Warsaw PAP in English 2304 GMT 12 Dec 88

[By PAP correspondent Robert Bielecki]

[Text] Paris, Dec. 12—During his visit here Lech Walesa met with representatives of local Polonia on last Sunday and with newsmen today. Answering questions he stated that "something good is beginning to take place in Poland. Perhaps this process is too slow, too meagre, but one must not miss this chance". And as a proof of favourable changes he mentioned, among other things, his recent television discussion with Alfred Miodowicz.

Lech Walesa many a time spoke about "our common motherland" and the need of compromise solutions. "In life everywhere a compromise is needed and no marriage can last more than two days without a compromise."

"Of course, it would be good to have well-disposed politicians in the West. However, Poles should first of all count on themselves," said Walesa.

"Poland needs agreement," continued Lech Walesa, coming out in favour of "compromise and peaceful solutions, in accordance with the law, (achieved) in a legal way". He holds the view that "there should be no strikes in Poland, for strikes are the ultimate weapon and they boomerang to hit society". He also added that the "round table" is badly needed, that "those whom I represent are ready for compromise."

Walesa said that during his stay in Paris he had noticed that many Poles who left Poland in recent years were thinking about returning home, to start businesses in Poland. He said he ardently supported such returns.

After concluding his stay in Paris Lech Walesa returned to Warsaw this evening.

Press Criticizes Latest Gdansk Riots

LD1212182388 Warsaw PAP in English 1720 GMT 12 Dec 88

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 12—"The 'rightness' of words contained in the homily of parish priest (Henryk Jankowski from St. Brygida Church who praised his church as the enclave of peace and manifestation of the will of reconciliation) the inhabitants of Gdansk could witness several minutes after the mass, the daily TRYBUNA LUDU wrote today, commenting on yesterday's riots in Gdansk.

The paper brings a detailed minute by minute report on the riots stressing that they got off after a traditional political rally just outside the St. Brygida Church.

TRYBUNA LUDU reporter writes that participants in the riots were clearly looking for trouble and when no potential victims came on hand they moved to stir unrest in front of a nearby militia station.

The attack on the station continued for 45 minutes and it became almost completely demolished before ZOMO [Civic Militia Mechanized Reserves] riot militia arrived. Also adjoining buildings of the city hall and numerous social associations were partly damaged.

Asked by TRYBUNU LUDU reporter why the staff of the militia station did not react, their superior said: We try to react calmly even against the most irresponsible acts of aggression.

Meantime, the government daily RZECZPOSPOLITA wrote that the political events of the recent weeks were an evidence that Poland's political life could accomodate all forces respecting legal order and the Polish reason of state.

"Those who are not content with such a development of situation attempt to refer to an already experienced, primitive screenplay wrecking the chance of agreement.

"No new elements were noticed in the course and intensity of the Gdansk riots...The difference was in the escalation of aggression against order maintaining units.

"This abuse of threats and force manifest the lack of other arguments. Its an evidence that one of the concepts formulated by the opposition, namely the confrontation oriented one, was lost in the face of changes in Poland, constructive programmes and social expectations."

Students Arrested in Solidarity Demonstration

LD1312145788 Hamburg DPA in German
1434 GMT 13 Dec 88

[Tex] Warsaw (DPA)—Some hundreds of students demonstrated today in Warsaw for the relegalization of the banned trade union Solidarity on the anniversary of the introduction of martial law. When they left the university campus and moved to the Copernicus memorial some 100 meters away the police moved in with batons. Stones were thrown from the crowd of students. Several students were arrested.

Placards with demands for the relegalization of Solidarity hung from a scaffolding at the gate to the university. While marching to the Copernicus memorial the students called out: "Jaruzelski Must Go." A demonstration on the anniversary of the introduction of martial law on 13 December 1981 was also announced in Wroclaw today.

Martial Law Imposition in 1981 Justified

LD1312131288 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1105 GMT 13 Dec 88

["Reflections" by Jerzy Malczynski]

[Text] Today, 13 December 1981, has been engraved in the memory of Poles in very different ways. There are already several generations of grown-up or almost grown-up people for whom it was only a day without Telemorning [a children's program].

There are many people who were relieved, in the hope that the anarchy, the disintegration of the economy, the state, and of society would end. But there are also those who handed in their party cards protesting in this way against the party which was not able to effectively reach accord with its grassroots. There are those who decided to stay abroad, using the event as an excuse to break off with the homeland and to improve their life there, in the West. Some succeeded in this. However, perhaps the most numerous are those who saw in that difficult decision a chance to introduce at least some order, and to embark on a path leading to overcoming the crisis.

During the recent discussion on conclusions arising from an analysis of Polish crises, a very wise thing was said: The only criterion for justifying the use of a method based on the drastic imposition of one's will on society could depend on whether, under the cover of this method, the reasons for which this has to be used have been eradicated. Thus, an unequivocal general assessment can only be made from a longer historical perspective. If it is done earlier it can only be misleading wishful thinking: What would have happened if? Has this time come already? It seems that it has. It can already be seen clearly today that martial law, despite the costs and troubles, served accord more than it served confrontation.

New Law Recognizes Right to Economic Activity

LD1212203288 Warsaw PAP in English
1819 GMT 12 Dec 88

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 12—"Taking up and performing economic activities is free and permitted to anyone on equal rights under conditions defined by the law," reads Art. 1 of the draft law on economic activity as it was adopted by the Sejm Committees last Wednesday.

The right to perform economic activities in Poland becomes an identical right as the right to work or the right to rest. It is a universal law. It is not given by any authority, any organ of administration. It is autonomous. Out of this follows only the duty to report the fact of taking up economic activity just like the birth of a child or change of address are being reported. It is the administrative organ's duty to enter a record in the files.

Taking up economic activity without any reporting is allowed in agriculture, fruit-growing, horticulture, and also when it is done personally as an extra work consisting in the production of personal use, household, or farm appliances, repairs of household utensils, trade in unprocessed farm products and undergrowth [as received].

On the other hand there are fields where a concession is required. These are to be precisely limited by law to: extraction of minerals, production and marketing of explosives, metals, and precious stones, medicines, tobacco products, spirits, and vodka. Concessions will also be required for maritime and air transport (but not road transport whether domestic or international), keeping chemists' shops, trading in the goods of culture older than 1945, and services in the field of protecting persons and property, detective services, and those consisting in handling passport formalities. All the rest can be done without concession, with a notice being quite enough, and even that not always necessary.

The coming Sejm meeting will deal with a draft of an unusually significant law. This is no longer a "green light" to initiative and enterprise. This is something more than that: a change in the approach to human activity recognizing it as the most fundamental factor of economic growth.

Council of Ministers Meets 7 Dec on Economy

AU1312133188 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 8 Dec 88 p 8

[PAP report: "Council of Ministers Meets"]

[Text] The Government Press Office reports that the Council of Ministers met on 7 December under the chairmanship of Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski. Key issues pertaining to the reorganization and strengthening of the economy were examined during the session. The Council of Ministers made the following decision:

1. The government Plan for the Consolidation of the National Economy during the years 1989-90 was adopted. The plan was drawn up on the initiative of the PZPR Central Committee. Opinions on the plan were submitted by the ZSL and the SD. The plan for the consolidation of the economy provides a comprehensive definition of fundamental social and economic goals, as well as of the mechanisms that guarantee the accomplishment of individual tasks.

The plan seeks to bring together goals and means that have been excessively dispersed until now. Strategic importance will be assigned to the development of areas that have a direct impact on the standard of living, that is, agriculture and the food economy, housing construction, and the protection of the natural environment. Conditions will be created for genuinely ensuring the continuity of supplies of basic foodstuffs and industrial goods, improving the services sphere, and initiating the process of strengthening the currency.

The institutional principles underlying economic processes will be reshaped with a view to introducing market mechanisms while simultaneously removing all obstacles to activity and the efficient use of resources.

The introduction of the principles of freedom in starting up and conducting economic activity and the equality of all sectors of the economy will be of importance. The consolidation plan envisages, among other things, the leasing of all of the assets of an enterprise and the transformation of state enterprises into stock companies with the participation of legal entities and citizens. During the years 1989-90, people's councils will began to conduct economic activities. Increasing people's council income by way of giving up municipal property will be of fundamental importance in the process of making people's councils independent.

There will be an increase in the role of the market in establishing optimal use of production inputs, labor resources, capital, and foreign currency. The free movement of financial resources between economic agents will serve to create a capital market with a growing trade in bonds and shares and will introduce an element of competition within the framework of the new banking system. The free exchange of foreign currency will be one means of producing a uniform currency market with a view to achieving the partial and then full convertibility of the zloty. There are also plans to create a real labor market to make more efficient use of labor resources. Changes in the labor law will grant places more flexibility in making efficient use of labor.

Efforts will be made to eliminate monopolistic practices and economically unjustified economic structures. In cases in which indirect methods of demonopolizing the economy prove to be ineffective, monopoly enterprises will be broken up. Liquidation decisions will be made with respect to unprofitable enterprises.

The use of economic pressure to reduce the energy- and material-intensiveness of production will be stepped up. Radical economic and financial mechanisms designed to promote scientific and technical progress will be introduced.

2. The council approved draft changes to the National Socioeconomic Plan for the Years 1986-90. The decisions that have been adopted eliminate long-term and capital-intensive investment projects from the program. Thanks to this, it will be possible to increase expenditure on undertakings that are designed to achieve the most pressing socioeconomic goals. The changes set out the transfer of outlay from raw material branches to processing industries, as well as a shift from central investment projects to investment aimed at modernizing enterprises. This particularly applies to the food, mineral processing, electrical engineering, and chemicals industries, as well as to light industry. Expenditure on housing construction will be increased. It is also planned that during the years 1989-90 there will be a high rate of investment in environmental protection, one that will exceed the levels contained in the National Socioeconomic Plan. The proposed changes to the National Socioeconomic Plan as well as draft laws on the budget, the balance of payments, the balance between the population's income and expenditure, monetary and loan policy, the loan plan, and specific objective funds for 1989 have been submitted to the PPR Sejm.

3. The Central Annual Plan for 1989 was approved. It envisages an increase in national income of 4.2 percent and an increase in consumption of between 4.2 and 4.3 percent.

A 2.8-percent increase in total output is projected for agriculture, with vegetable and plant production increasing by 4.3 percent. It is envisaged that about 156,000 hectares of farmland will be reclaimed, and that there will be an increase in the use of mineral fertilizers and the supply of pesticides, nutritive feeds, as well as imported high-protein concentrates and feeds. Investment in the feed and food industry will increase by 15.4 percent.

The provisions of the Central Annual Plan with respect to housing construction envisage that 203,000 units will become available for occupancy next year. There will be a significant increase in the resources allocated for repairs and the modernization of housing.

Investment connected with environmental protection will increase by more than 30 percent next year. The penalties and indexed charges for polluting the atmosphere will be consistently enforced, even if this means that an enterprise will go bankrupt. All the obstacles that prevent enterprises from engaging in and developing trade on their own behalf and at their own expense will be removed in order to ensure that exports increase. The system of foreign trade concessions will be abandoned with the exception of basic raw materials and foodstuffs. The plan provides for the continuation of an active exchange rate policy that will facilitate the expansion of profitable exporting and the rationalization of imports.

Income policy will be geared toward the strengthening of the incentive function of incomes while ensuring that the standard of living of the economically weakest groups will be maintained. Favorable conditions will be created for saving and for investing in housing construction and economic activity.

4. The draft laws on banking and the Polish National Bank were approved. It is proposed that fundamental changes be made to the banking system in Poland. The reformed banking system will work to restore economic stability, improve efficiency, modernize the economic structure, and introduce market mechanisms.

The creation of new banks and their decentralization should create competition. Enterprises will be allowed to choose their banks, and interest rates on deposits and loans will become economically realistic. There are plans for starting up trade in bills of exchange and securities (with the participation of banks) and a reorganization of the system for providing loans for the state budget so that the principle of providing automatic backing for the budget deficit will be abandoned.

Banks for specific purposes will be created on the initiative of enterprises, cooperatives, regional units, and associations, for example, banks for innovation, technological progress, communal-housing needs. It will also be possible to create banks in which there is a foreign capital share.

Banks will be independent and self-governing organizational units that will freely decide about the scope of their activities.

The Polish National Bank will fall into line with the principles of banking reform by reorganizing with a view to increasing its role as the central state bank, the issuing bank, and the banks' bank.

The Polish National Bank will cease to provide direct loans to units in the national economy and will transfer these functions to newly created state banks. Its basic goal will be to strengthen Poland's currency by actively cooperating in the shaping of economic policy.

5. The council approved a draft law on a social fund for the countryside and draft changes to the law on social insurance for individual farmers. The proposed changes take account of the demands that were most frequently voiced by the rural community during the course of the campaign that preceded the 10th ZSL Congress and by the National Association of Farmers, and Agricultural Circles, and Agricultural Organizations.

The main source of funding will be a charge of 0.5 percent of the value of the agriculture produce that is purchased applicable to all economic units that buy agricultural produce directly from farmers. It will also be possible for citizens and legal entities to make payments into the fund and for state subsidies and people's council budget surpluses to be paid into the fund. The fund will be administered by the primary level people's council. People's councils will also be able to transfer administration rights to the appropriate local association of farmers, agricultural circles, and agricultural organizations in communes in which there are no state farms and agricultural cooperatives.

The fund will serve to satisfy the social needs and needs relating to living conditions of inhabitants of the countryside and to provide additional financing for social purposes. The funds that remain at the end of a given year can be transferred to the following year. The draft amendments to the law on insurance for individual farmers and the members of their families approved by the Council of Ministers raises the minimum size of holdings for which insurance is obligatory to 1 hectare and eliminates cases of peasants-workers having to pay insurance twice. Nationwide, the number of individual holdings that have been making insurance payments will fall by about 879,000, that is, they will decline by 32.7 percent of the total number. Social insurance payments made by individual farmers will be about Z25 billion annually. People that have been insured until now will be excluded from social insurance because of the higher minimum size of holding but they will continue this form of insurance on a voluntary basis.

6. The council approved draft amendments to principles governing the sale of land from the State Land Fund. The proposed changes, in line with the principle for the

reform of the economy, will seek to make it easier to transfer land. At the same time, they will serve to strengthen the financial foundations of independent activity on the part of regional self-management organs, as the revenue obtained as a result of sales of land from the State Land Fund will bolster the budgets of primary level people's councils.

7. Budget norms for maintaining sick and retired people in health service establishments and social assistance establishments have been raised.

Correction to Commentary on Gorbachev UN Speech

The following correction pertains to the item headlined "Commentary on Gorbachev's UN Speech," published in the 12 December East Europe DAILY REPORT, page 34, column one:

Revise subslug to read: [Commentary by Wlodzimierz Lozinski: "Humanism as the... (supplying correct name)

Messages of Condolences Sent to USSR

Ceausescu Cables Gorbachev

AU1212165488 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 9 Dec 88 p 5

[Cable from President Nicolae Ceausescu to Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, after earthquake in Armenia]

[Text] To Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium,

On behalf of the RCP Central Committee, the State Council, the Romanian people, and myself personally, I extend to you, the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and all Soviet Communists and working people, sentiments of profound solidarity at this difficult moment in time brought about by the 7 December earthquake in the Armenian SSR, with its heavy casualties and material damage.

Please convey our feelings of profound compassion to the mourning families.

Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania

Dascalescu Sends Telegram

AU1212185388 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1818 GMT 12 Dec 88

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 12/12/1988—Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the Socialist Republic of Romania, sent a telegram to the chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR expressing, on behalf of the Romanian Government, as well as on his own behalf, sincere condolences in connection with the casualties caused by the crash of an IL-6 military freight plane in the vicinity of the town of Leninakan, in the Armenian SSR. The bereaved families are conveyed feelings of deep compassion.

USSR Embassy Receives Officials

AU1212162188 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1602 GMT 12 Dec 88

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 12/12/1988—On December 12, condolences were presented at the Embassy of the Soviet Union in Bucharest in connection with the casualties caused by the devastating earthquake in the Armenian SSR.

On behalf of Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, as well as of the State Council and of the government sincere condolences and feelings of deep solidarity for the heavy casualties caused by the earthquake in the Armenian SSR were conveyed to M. S. Gorbachev, to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, to Soviet Communists and working people, as well as feelings of compassion to all those affected by that disaster.

The condolences were presented by Manea Manescu, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, vice-president of the State Council; Gheorghe Oprea, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, first deputy prime minister; Maxim Berghianu and Pavel Aron, ministers; Nicolae Mihalache, Mihai Nicolae and Emilia Sonea, deputy heads of section at the CC of the RCP; and Constantin Oancea, deputy minister of foreign affairs.

DPRK Parliamentary Delegation Visits

Received by Ceausescu

AU0912203888 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1953 GMT 9 Dec 88

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 9/12/1988—On December 9 Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, received the parliamentary delegation from the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, headed by Yang Hyong-sop, chairman of the Standing Committee of the Supreme People's Assembly, now on a visit to Romania at the invitation of the Grand National Assembly.

The chief delegate conveyed President Nicolae Ceausescu a warm salute on behalf of Kim Il-song, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Korean Workers' Party, president of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. President Nicolae Ceausescu was also conveyed a warm and friendly salute on behalf of Kim Jong-il, member of the Presidium of the Politburo, secretary of the CC of the Korean Workers' Party.

Thanking, Nicolae Ceausescu sent Kim Il-song a warm salute and best wishes. The party general secretary also conveyed a warm salute to Kim Jong-il.

During the interview reference was made to the good ties of friendship and collaboration between the two parties, countries and peoples, and the wish was expressed to further develop them in the mutual interest, in the interest of the general cause of socialism, of understanding and peace throughout the world.

Stressing the fruitful results of the official goodwill visit President Nicolae Ceausescu and Mrs Elena Ceausescu have paid to the DPR of Korea this October, emphasis was placed on the decisive role of the summit meetings and talks in the multilateral development of Romanian-Korean relations.

President Nicolae Ceausescu restated on this occasion, too, Romania's active support for the Korean people's just fight for reestablishing national union, to President Kim Il-song's initiatives and new proposals regarding the lessening of tension in the Korean peninsula and the creation of the conditions necessary for the peaceful and independent reunification of the fatherland without any foreign interference.

In the name of the party and state leadership of the DPR of Korea, the chairman of the Standing Committee of the Supreme People's Assembly warmly thanked President Nicolae Ceausescu for Romania's solidarity with the Korean people's fight for the peaceful reunification of Korea.

During the interview, stress was laid upon the role of the parliaments in the multilateral development of the cooperation between Romania and the DPR of Korea, as well as upon the increased contribution they should make to the settlement of the great problems confronting mankind, to the consolidation of peace and the development of collaboration among all the world nations.

The call was attended by Nicolae Giosan, chairman of the Grand National Assembly.

Present was the charge d'affaires ad interim of the DPR of Korea to Bucharest, So Yong-chang.

Welcomed by GNA Chairman Giosan

AU0612202988 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1842 GMT 6 Dec 88

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 6/12/1988—A parliamentary delegation from the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, led by Yang Hyong-sop, chairman of the Standing Committee of the Supreme People's Assembly, arrived in Bucharest on December 6 upon an invitation extended by the Grand National Assembly [GNA].

The same day, GNA chairman, Nicolae Giosan, had an interview with Korean parliamentarians.

On the occasion, satisfaction was expressed at the fine links between Romania and the DPR of Korea, with emphasis on the deciding role of the summit meetings and talks in the expansion and diversification of those relations. At the same time, emphasis was placed on the contribution the supreme legislative bodies in the two countries can further make to the development of Romanian-Korean collaboration and cooperation in areas of mutual interest.

At the same time, aspects of the international situation were outlined, with stress on the role of parliaments and parliamentarians in the constructive resolution of the complex problems of the contemporary world, in the interest of all nations.

Visits Dimbovita County

AU0712190188 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1832 GMT 7 Dec 88

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 7/12/1988—On Wednesday, December 7, the parliamentary delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, headed by Yang Hyong-sop, chairman of the Standing Committee of the Supreme People's Assembly, visited industrial, farm and cultural units in Dimbovita County and Tirgoviste Municipality. The Korean guests had an interview at the county people's council when they were presented the achievements of the working people in Dimbovita County in implementing the targets of the current five-year period.

Meets Romanian Press

AU1312121688 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 11 Dec 88 p 5

[Text] During the DPRK delegation's visit to our country, the delegation leader, Yang Hyong-sop, chairman of the Standing Committee of the Supreme People's Assembly, met with Romanian press representatives on 10 December.

The guest made extensive mention of the relations of solidarity and cooperation at various levels between our parties, countries, and peoples. He emphasized that these relations are experiencing an upward trend and have been given a strong impetus by the summit dialogue and the revolutionary friendship between Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and Comrade Kim Il-song.

The recent official visit of friendship paid by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and Comrade Elena Ceausescu to the DPRK, the speaker said, marks an important event in the chronicle of Romanian-Korean relations, and the fruitful results of the visit are of particular bilateral significance and, at the same time, in the interest of the cause of socialism and peace.

Recalling the main activities during the current visit to our country, the guest pointed out that the DPRK parliamentary delegation had the honor of being received by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, an occasion during which a warm and friendly message was extended on behalf of Comrade Kim Il-song. Our delegation's meeting with the esteemed Comrade President Nicolae Ceausescu, he said, is a telling expression of the particularly friendly relations between the Romanian and Korean peoples.

The leader of the DPRK parliamentary delegation emphasized that the visit to our country was a welcome opportunity to become directly acquainted with the important successes of the Romanian people in their socioeconomic development, especially during the period initiated by the Ninth RCP Congress. In this context, the speaker stressed the important role resting on the parliaments of the two countries in building the socialist society in Romania and the DPRK, in strengthening many-sided cooperation between our countries and peoples, and in solving the problem of the present-day world. The speaker emphasized that the domestic and foreign policy promoted by the RCP and Socialist Romania, as well as Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's international initiatives and steps in the direction of achieving disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament, detente, and the building of an atmosphere of peace, security, and cooperation in Europe and throughout the world enjoy the greatest of appreciation in the DPRK.

The guest also made an extensive description of the efforts made by the Korean people to ensure the country's socio-economic development, fulfill the tasks of the Third 7-Year Plan, and to implement the great targets put forward by the Sixth Congress of the Workers Party of Korea.

Answering the journalists' questions, the delegation leader presented the wide-ranging steps taken by the DPRK toward the peaceful and independent reunification of the homeland and toward implementing the proposals regarding creating the Koryo Confederative Democratic Republic on the basis of eliminating the state of confrontation between North and South Korea, the withdrawal of U.S. troops from South Korea, and on the basis of halting actions causing the country's split.

The chairman of the Standing Committee of the Supreme People's Assembly expressed profound gratitude for the militant solidarity and firm support granted by the RCP, Socialist Romania, and President Nicolae Ceausescu for the DPRK's proposals on the country's peaceful and independent reunification, and expressed the conviction that the Romanian party, Government, and people will continue to be at the side of the Korean people in their heroic struggle to achieve this legitimate and vital aspiration.

Concludes Visit, Departs

AU1212185188 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1708 GMT 12 Dec 88

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 12/12/1988—The parliamentary delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, lead by Yang Hyong-sop, chairman of the Standing Committee of the Supreme People's Assembly, who paid a visit to Romania upon an invitation extended by the Grand National Assembly, left Bucharest on December 12.

The guests were seen off at the Otopeni Airport by GNA [Grand National Assembly] chairman Nicolae Giosan.

Also present was the charge d'affaires ad interim of the DRP of Korea in Bucharest, So Yong-chang.

PEC Examines 1989 Economic Matters

AU1212172088 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 10 Dec 88 p 1

["Meeting of the PEC of the RCP Central Committee Under Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's Chairmanship"]

[Text] On Friday 9 December RCP Secretary General Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu chaired a meeting of the PEC of the RCP Central Committee.

During the meeting, the PEC examined a report on defining the plan tasks for the first quarter of 1989 on a monthly basis.

The PEC approved the proposed measures on defining the plan tasks for the first quarter of 1989 on a monthly basis for each branch, central department, and economic unit and estimated that all conditions exist for implementing the plan provisions smoothly and fully.

Party Secretary General Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu asked the government, ministries, industrial central departments, productive units, and party bodies and organizations to take resolute steps to implement the measures adopted, to strengthen order, discipline, and the spirit of responsibility in each unit and sector, and to better organize the overall economic activity, so that it can operate at full capacity, with a view to fulfilling, in an exemplary manner, all plan indicators and provisions in 1989, a decisive year for the commendable fulfillment of the entire 5-year plan.

The PEC examined a report on the fulfillment, in the third quarter of 1988, of the approved main technical-economic indicators for commissioned industrial productive units. In view of the fact that—despite the good results obtained in this period by certain sectors—the envisaged parameters were not achieved in a number of units, the PEC asked the ministries, industrial central departments, and enterprises to take resolute steps to eliminate shortcomings, to better organize and perform their tasks, and to ensure the appropriate functioning and utilization of all equipment and installations, so that all productive capacities can operate at the established parameters as soon as possible, during the first quarter of the next year.

The PEC examined and approved a draft decree on changing certain economic-financial plan indicators for the second half and the whole of 1988, following the introduction of pay increases for the working personnel. This normative act establishes the means for securing the necessary funds for the pay rise process.

The PEC then examined and approved a report on the 30 September 1988 state of participation by the working people from state and cooperative socialist units in the formation of the economic development fund by means of social shares. According to centralized data, the social share deposits of state economic units throughout the economy have reached—since the start of the implementation of the relevant law—19.3 billion lei on 30 September 1988; these deposits he been used to a larger extent to finance investments and the circulating capital. On the same date, the social share deposits of cooperative units totaled some 3.7 billion lei. Thus, overall deposits amount to some 23 billion lei.

At the same time, the working people's incomes have also increased as a result of their social share deposits. Thus, last year the working people in state units received—in accordance with legal stipulations—a supplementary income of 782.8 million lei, that is 137.8 million lei more than in 1986. The supplementary incomes cooperative members derived from their social shares amounted to 127.6 million lei, that is 21.6 million lei more than in 1986.

The PEC asked party bodies and organizations, trade unions, and the working people's councils to take further steps to increase the level of participation by means of social shares, to mobilize all working people in the efforts to set up economic development funds, to ensure and increase monthly deposits pledged, and to use these funds with maximum efficiency, in accordance with legal provisions. Likewise, the PEC requested that steps be taken to increase the concern and responsibility of all working people for the proper development of work in their enterprises, in their capacity as owners, producers, and direct end-users of everything that is achieved in our country.

The PEC then examined and approved a report on the fund of the working people's participation in the fulfillment of production and profits, and in the sharing of profits.

On this occasion, the PEC again emphasized the importance of the measures adopted at Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's initiative to pay out, in December, 50 percent of the fund resulting from the working people's participation in the fulfillment of production and profits and in the sharing of profits. Thus, this month the working people will receive some 1.7 billion lei as profit-sharing benefits.

The PEC examined and approved a report on the inventory of the main agricultural and food products of the 1988 crop. The PEC estimated that this year's grain crop, which exceeds 30 million tonnes, as well as the other crops achieved will ensure proper supplies of agricultural and food produce to the people, and will satisfy national economic requirements for raw materials.

The PEC also solved current problems of the party-state activity.

Report on Finance Laws Presented

AU0812200588 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 3 Dec 88 p 5

["Report on Conclusions Drawn From the Experimental Application in 1988 of Provisions of Law No 1/1988 on Perfecting the Economic-Financial Mechanism by Improving the Price-Setting System and Law No 2/1988 on Improving the Remuneration System To Stimulate the Production Earmarked for Export and the Export Itself," presented by Decebal Urdea, chairman of the State Committee for Prices, at the 1-2 December Bucharest session of the Grand National Assembly]

[Text] Much beloved and esteemed Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania, much esteemed Comrade Elena Ceausescu, esteemed comrade deputies:

Please allow me to submit to the Grand National Assembly [GNA], on behalf of the government, the conclusions drawn from the experimental application in 1988 of the provisions of Law No 1/1988 on Perfecting the Economic-Financial Mechanism by Improving the Price-Setting System and Law No 2/1988 on Improving the Remuneration System To Stimulate the Production Earmarked for Export and the Export Itself.

With justified patriotic pride, we would like to emphasize, on this occasion, too, that the new price-setting system and the remuneration system to stimulate the production earmarked for export and the export itself reflect the revolutionary economic thinking of our illustrious leader Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania. With his profound capability of critically and creatively examining the complex phenomena of our fatherland's socioeconomic development, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu substantiated, with his characteristic scientific thoroughness and precision, the role of prices in the vast process of stimulating the efforts of the working people's collectives in order to: fulfill the item-specified production with ever lower production costs, so as to meet the domestic needs of the national economy and our export requirements; better utilize all material, manpower, and financial resources; and, on this basis, increase economic efficiency in all fields of activity.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's brilliant speech at the joint session of the RCP Central Committee plenum and of other democratic bodies and mass and public organizations is a most valuable document which outlines the development prospects of the Romanian economy with strong and consistent arguments. It confirms once more the clearsightedness of our party-state leader and the correctness of measures adopted and rigorously checked in actual practice for improving the key structures of our economic-financial mechanism, including in the sphere of prices and the remuneration system.

The measures adopted are directly linked to the firm implementation of programs for scientific research, technological development, and the introduction of technical progress worked out under the direct leadership of Comrade Academician Doctor Engineer Elena Ceausescu, first deputy prime minister of the government andchairman of the National Council for Science and Education. The results of the implementation of these programs can be seen in the modernization of manufacturing technologies, in the improvement of the technical-qualitative parameters of our products, in the reduction of production costs, and in the increase in labor productivity, profits, and efficiency.

In this year's experimental application period, the prices set on the basis of standard costs plus profits differentiated in accordance with the destination of products have proved their active role in saving resources available to us.

As a result of the introduction of new profits differentiated in accordance with the destination of products, changes have occurred in the monetary flow structure—through taxes on goods turnover and profits—which had a positive influence on the national economy, as they guaranteed sure revenues for the state budget and strengthened the role of profits as a key element of fulfilling the production plan with ever lower costs.

The profits stipulated by the new regulations ensure that the enterprises can set up, in accordance with legal provisions, self-financing funds for investments and cash flow, the profit-participation fund, the fund for supplementary remuneration to stimulate the production earmarked for export and the export itself, the fund for social actions, and funds for the working people's social benefits and other destinations envisaged by the law.

In the case of products earmarked for export to socialist countries and hard currency markets, conditions were created to stimulate enterprises with export tasks, by including in the approved production prices higher profits than the profits established for the same products designated for domestic consumption.

We wish to emphasize that the new production prices and tariffs did not affect in any way the retail prices and tariffs for the population, which remained the same.

In view of the fact that the new prices and tariffs have proved their efficiency in the period of experimental application—through their positive influence on the economy—we propose that the Law on Perfecting the Economic-Financial Mechanism by Improving the Price-Setting System be adopted in its present form.

The measures adopted at the initiative of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania—which are reflected in Law No 2/1988 on Improving the Remuneration System To Stimulate the Production Earmarked for Export and the Export Itself—have strongly mobilized the working people in the fulfillment of export tasks.

Likewise, in the period of experimental application of the new regulations, the great majority of units with export tasks have set up, in accordance with legal provisions, their supplementary remuneration funds for granting incentives to the working personnel who contributed to the fulfillment of export tasks.

As a result of steps taken to fulfill export tasks, both the number of recipients of export incentives and the amounts of money allocated for this purpose have grown every month.

According to the law, export incentives were granted to the entire working personnel who contributed to the fulfillment of these tasks, both those from basic productive sections and workshops and those from other sectors of activity: tool houses, chief engineer's room, internal transportation, research, technological engineering, and industrial design.

Likewise, incentives were granted, in accordance with legal provisions, to the working personnel of economic units with indirect export tasks, who contributed to fulfilling the production of raw and other materials, spare parts, and subassemblies that were incorporated in the final products designated for export.

In view of the fact that the adopted measures are playing an important role in stimulating the working personnel to fulfill the entire production earmarked for export and the export itself on schedule and under the high quality conditions envisaged in contracts concluded with foreign partners and to manufacture highly technical products with low material and energy consumption, which can compete on foreign markets, we propose that the Law on Improving the Remuneration System To Stimulate the Production Earmarked for Export and the Export Itself" be adopted in its present form.

We assure the party-state leadership, yourself personally, much beloved and esteemed Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania, and the GNA that firm steps will be taken to rigorously implement the established policy in the sphere of prices and tariffs and in the remuneration system, in order to stimulate the production earmarked for export and the export itself, to strengthen workers self-financing, self-administration, and self-management, and to increase their role in the vast process of promoting our national economic development, enhancing the country's economic strength, and thus raising our people's overall level of life and civilization.

By working in such a way, we will pay ardent homage to the revolutionary activity carried out with self-denial, creative spirit, and fiery patriotism by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the most beloved son of the nation, eminent party-state leader, and brilliant founder and strategist of modern Socialist Romania.

New Slovene 'Social Democratic' Party Founded

AU1312093388 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 9 Dec 88 p 3

[S. Gajevic report: "With the LC—Competition and Cooperation"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 8 Dec—The Social-Democratic Association of Slovenia will put forward its program in the next elections. The LC will also put forward its program at these elections, which should be direct and secret. If the LC wins a majority, I will consider it the real vanguard and I will respect it. If it loses and does not allow others to implement their program, then for me it will be a Stalinist dictatorship.

This is the way that France Tomsic, one of the members of the Initiative Committee for the Founding of the Social-Democratic Association of Slovenia, explained the announcement of the activities of the Social-Democratic Association in an interview on Ljubljana Radio yesterday. According to Tomsic, this association should be founded on 27 December in Cankar's Hall in Ljubljana.

The conversation with Tomsic was carried on Ljubljana Radio yesterday and MLADINA has already published today an official statement by the Initiative Committee of the Founding of the Social-Democratic Association of Slovenia. It was signed by France Tomsic, Gorazd Drevensek (president of the Ljubljana University Youth Association), and Andrej Magajna. Printed under the text which includes the same stands as those stated by Tomsic yesterday, is a contact telephone number for all those who are interested.

According to Tomsic, the Social-Democratic Association of Slovenia should be a totally independent sociopolitical organization. Tomsic explained the reasons for setting up such organizations "with the help of" the strike which took place last year in the Litostroj collective. Tomsic, who is an engineer in this collective and the leader of the strike committee at that time, said that it was assessed during that strike that many reasons for Litostroj's troubles were to be found outside the collective, in the political system which is based on a single-party monopoly. Tomsic said that such a system could not be democratic, humane, innovative, and effective.

At that time, Professor France Bucar was proposed as president of the Social-Democratic Association of Slovenia and the Slovene Writers Association was proposed as the leadership of the association, as some kind of vanguard. In yesterday's interview, Tomsic said that neither Bucar nor the Slovene Writers Association had accepted this proposal.

Tomsic also said that the Social-Democratic Association of Slovenia should have been set up even earlier but the reason for the delay was activity concerning the case of the four men convicted of disclosing military secrets.

France Tomsic also stressed that the Social-Democratic Association of Slovenia was now working on its program and it would soon contact the Slovene SAWP. Tomsic cited a part of this program which says that the Social-Democrats do not support any kind of dictatorship of the proletariat or any dictatorship or a take-over of power by force but it supports activity within a parliamentary democracy.

Tomsic particularly stressed that the Social-Democratic Association will cooperate with the LC. "If our programs are similar, we will cooperate," said Tomsic. "If we consider that the LC program is not for the good of Slovenia and Yugoslavia, then will we be against it."

Slovene Official on Parties

AU1312112488 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 10-11 Dec 88 p 6

[Report on interview with Viktor Zakelj, Slovene SAWP vice president, by Veselin Simonovic: "The World Is Going in Another Direction"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 9 Dec—France Tomsic, an engineer from the Litostroj collective, has again recently stated his old idea of the formation of a social democratic association. He also announced that the founding meeting of the association will be held at the end of December. The founding meeting of another party, the "Slovene Democratic Association of Reason," should be held tomorrow.

We asked Viktor Zakelj, vice president of the Slovene SAWP Republican Conference, where so much pressure for the introduction of a multi-party system comes from.

"At the moment when it was recognized in Slovenia and Yugoslavia that our society is in crisis—in an overall crisis—this was an act which urged people to search for possible ways out of the crisis. We also spoke about democracy and programic pluralism. It seems quite normal to me that people also began to think about organizing politically. Most of this thinking was done in our republic and in Serbia and this was historically dependent on tradition, development, and specific events, as well as ideas and the people who advocated this idea," stressed Zakelj.

"There are two schools of thought. The first proceeds from the premise that it is possible to reform the political superstructure which means the transformation of the SAWP and also implies a simultaneous reform of the LC, the trade unions, the Youth Federation, and so on. The peasant organization, for example, has entered the SAWP and tomorrow someone else will. All these organizations have a socialist common denominator.

"The other school of thought, however, is outside the socialist idea. If we decided on the democratization of society so that freedom of thought would no longer be a stumbling block or a matter for prosecution, then those of us who are for a socialist option would have to have a reasoned argument with which to prove that this other option is not the right one.

"The peasant association decided to act in an organizational and political way within the SAWP and many positive results have been achieved in this respect. However, there are more difficulties with 'the association of intellectuals [razumnik].' I do not support the intellectual party. Our society is disintegrating because of these professional organizations but the world is going in another direction. I see this only as a call to intellectualize politics. Therefore, I advocate first of all that our society be made professional and intellectual and be raised to a higher level," stressed Zakelj.

"As regards the social democratic association, I am preoccupied with this: capitalism developed from liberalism, even as far as the present stage—the state of entrepreneurship. It has therefore evolved to a horrifying extent and old capitalism no longer looks like the modern capitalism. However, socialism has not yet evolved because Lenin's view of socialism is what we are still caught up in. Only our self-management was an attempt to look for something outside this. However, our power has ossified.

"In political jargon, we have only the socialist, communist, and the christian-democratic, but no one can say what these terms mean. If someone were to say to me that he is for social democracy, I would ask him what he thinks that means. I am afraid that we bandy about some terms without knowing their meaning. In itself the Peasant Association will mean nothing if it does not become a movement which will have an effect in the Economic Chamber, the Cooperative Federation, and so on. We will change nothing if, for example, we say enterprise instead of Basic Organization of Associated Labor. The defining of terms is the most important question," said Zakelj.

[Simonovic] The initiators of the social democratic association have expressed the desire to enter the SAWP. Can the SAWP accept it in the form that it wants to be?

[Zakelj] Anyone who adapts to the statute of the SAWP can be in the SAWP. One should see whether its program is adapted to this. If it wants to be an interest association which respects the socialist direction then it has a place in the SAWP, but if this exceeds what is the legal state at the moment, then it cannot be within the framework of the SAWP.

We decided to transform the SAWP, but we are late in our reply as to what it will be like. If we do not find ways to take advantage of this opportunity, it will be normal to expect that there will be even more demands for political organizations outside the SAWP.

[Simonovic] The condition for that is a reform of the LC?

[Zakelj] I do not think that the LC should step down from power into a void but it must "fight" for its communist ideas within the SAWP and this would also be the case for the trade unions and all the rest.

[Simonovic] If the "intellectuals" and "social democrats" decide not to enter the SAWP nonetheless, what kind of situation would arise then?

[Zakelj] I think that at this moment there is room for political organization in the SAWP. Along with all this, we must have a Yugoslav dimension and we must see how this political system would function from the communal level up to the federal level. That means that it must be compatible. We must therefore introduce this activity to transform the political system at the level of the state in a synchronized way.

[Simonovic] We say that every reform is dependent on another reform. We say that reform of the SAWP is dependent on reform of the party and the reform of the party is dependent on the reform of the SAWP, so that we are caught up in a vicious circle. How do we get out of this?

[Zakelj] The SAWP must take the initiative. Someone must break this circle and therefore the SAWP has the next move. It must be the first to transform itself and force others to do the same.

Founding Statement

AU1312123188 Ljubljana MLADINA in Slovene No 51, 9 Dec 88 p 19

[Statement by the Initiative Committee for the Formation of the Social-Democratic Association of Slovenia: "New Political Organization"]

[Text] The workers of Litostroj [Ljubljana plant] at an extraordinary meeting of workers on 15 December 1987 (6 days after the beginning of the strike on 9 December, which culminated in a gathering in front the the Assembly of the SR of Slovenia and the gathering in the great auditorium of Cankar Hall), made a step that was a small step for Litostroj workers, but an enormous one for the process of democratization in Slovenia and Yugoslavia.

With applause—but also with booing—this historic gathering of Litostroj workers accepted the suggestion that it is necessary to immediately set up a social-democratic association (SDA), which should work as an autonomous sociopolitical organization under the existing political conditions.

The proposal to set up the SDA has remained unrealized up to now. It is true that the sociopolitical scene in Slovenia (as well as in Yugoslavia) has changed in many respects since then. The Slovene Peasant Union, the

Human Rights Protection Committee, the Aktiv for Democracy, and the Slovene Democratic Alliance have been formed, and all this undoubtedly contributes to the development of democracy, a state with the rule of the law, a civilian society, and thus to a better tomorrow. A reflection of all these movements is also the desire of the LC of Slovenia to struggle henceforth for socialism with a human face and for a descent from power.

The social democrats do not advocate a dictatorship of the proletariat or any other dictatorship, they also do not advocate an assumption of power by force, but they advocate working in a parliamentary democracy. The social democrats also do not say that they are a vanguard, because we believe that this should be decided by the sociopolitical programs that obtain a majority of votes in free and direct elections.

The way we live will depend on the quality of sociopolitical programs: This will decide whether the average pay in 2000 will be closer $100 or $1000; and precisely for this reason it is very important that we do not lose time.

We think that it is not necessary to make a special presentation of the social democratic program here, for it has been interwoven in the political life of the majority of progressive and developed European states for more than 100 years, from Austria, Italy, France, the FRG, Sweden, Denmark, and Norway to Britain (Labor).

Just as we have decided in favor of a market economy in economics, so we must decide in the sociopolitical sphere for a market of ideas or rather a market of sociopolitical programs, which can be prepared and realized only by completely autonomous political organizations. In the SR of Slovenia and in Yugoslavia, nobody—not even the LC or the SDA—should have a monopoly on the truth.

The Initiative Committee for the Formation of a Social-Democratic Association of Slovenia:

France Tomsic,
Gorazd Drevensek,
Andrej Magajna.
Contacts: Telephone No 318-457 every working day between 1500 and 1600.
The founding meeting of the SDA of Slovenia will be in Ljubljana toward the end of December.

Workers Deny Intent for Party

AU1312153088 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 13 Dec 88

[Relja Atanasijevic report]

[Text] The representatives of the Litostroj work organization denied the report that the workers of their collective supported at any time this year the idea of France Tomsic concerning the founding of a Social-Democratic Party of Slovenia. Here is a report by Relja Atanasijevic:

The Litostroj press office and the trade union today stated that MLADINA's claim that their organization is the place where the activities for founding the Association of Slovene Socio-Democrats are conducted is the crudest political provocation. The statement mentions that exactly 1 year ago, France Tomsic, then president of the Striking Committee, abused the Litostroj workers' dissatisfaction who demanded higher personal incomes, and that he, on behalf of the workers, launched his own idea on founding a political party.

His initiative was clearly condemned by the workers of the largest work organization in Ljubljana in December last year, who did not discuss it at any other time later. They also said that no referendum will be held in the Litostroj on the founding of a new political party.

However, France Tomsic, as is known, and like minded people continued their activities and announced a founding meeting of the Association of Social Democrats of Slovenia for January of next year.

One should also mention that the situation in Litostroj has improved to such an extent in the past year that the workers are now receiving 1 million dinars a month on average. They decided not to hold any more meetings this month because the work requires them to realize an income of 50 billion dinars and to successfully concluded the year in this way.

Suvar on Political Pluralism at 8 Dec Meeting

LD0812233088 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1312 GMT 8 Dec 88

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 8 Dec (TANJUG)—The SFRY Presidency should take initiative and make proposals to the SFRY Assembly's Federal Chamber on drafting and adopting a new Federal Constitution.

This was proposed today by members of the Presidium of the SAWPY Federal Conference, and a decision on this will be adopted by delegates on 14 December this year. [passage omitted]

Stipe Suvar took the floor to advocate reform in the year ahead. He said that work should again be done on the SAWP documents, although they are very new. While saying that he might be wrong, Suvar says that the thinking on the SAWP's role has virtually not moved forward over the last 10 years. The SAWP has performed its function in a routine way and has not become a living force to influence the daily development of society, in which much has changed "more in a disorderly manner than consciously, and much will change in the immediate future."

In the context of the transformation of the LC, the most important things to us, without underestimating here the other socio-political organizations, are the transformations of the SAWP and the trade unions, because these are actually the two most powerful and largest organizations, Suvar said.

The questions which the public will ask during the forthcoming changes to the political system and the Constitution, which will probably also lead to a redefinition of the SAWP's constitutional role, should be looked into immediately. Therefore, it is a question of whether even now a federal leadership of the SAWP should be selected which will then be elected at the end of next year, Suvar said.

In the program goals and statute of the SAWPY, in Suvar's view, some things relating to the initiatives of people—whether individuals or groups—have not been raised, and the role of the SAWP and the problem of political pluralism in society are not seen in this light.

Throughout the country, voices and pleadings for political pluralism, even by responsible people in the LC and the SAWP, are multiplying, Suvar said. Some are already saying openly that the only way out is the renewal of the classic multiparty system in the country. Recently these calls have has been multiplying. The thesis that the market economy we are moving toward cannot exist without a multiparty system also is being banded about. Here, we have from Kardel [reference to colleague of Tito's] only the theories on a pluralism of self-managing interests, but what we have on the agenda is political pluralism.

How are we to interpret and develop it in this society? Are we to stick to the strategic line of our revolution which we have not exactly implemented up to now, and to go from one-party to a nonparty society, to take away the role of the LCY what made it a party of the state? In the process, the SAWP should be a place also for confession, if you like, and for representing the most diverse ideological and political standpoints, but within the framework of the SFRY Constitution. This means that there are limitations which all countries in the world have, restricting the violent changing of the constitutional order, though in their framework people might have the maximum amount of freedom to think aloud, to propose and to organize themselves when they are not satisfied with the existing forms of organization, Suvar says. He stressed that no longer can we think of the development of democracy in society through the mobilization of the masses, but through the role of the individual. [passage omitted]

Kadijevic Stresses Importance of LCY Reform

AU0912115488 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 1 Dec 88 p 11

[Excerpt from an article by Veljko Kadijevic, federal secretary for national defense, written for KOMUNIST on the occasion of Republic Day: "First Condition—Equality"]

[Text]...The essence of unity in Yugoslavia, I would say the only possible Yugoslavia, is its organization on the principles of AVNOJ [Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia]. Today, however, there are not enough words to stress this because various concepts have emerged under the formal cloak of AVNOJ, Veljko Kadijevic, federal secretary for national defense, said. In addition, life imposes, particularly in the economic sphere, new phenomena which can be resolved on both the AVNOJ and anti-AVNOJ principles. This has created the need for more specific stands on the concrete open questions of the further development of sociopolitical and socioeconomic systems on the AVNOJ principles. We in the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] have fairly set and clear views on all these open questions. We have held the same stands in the discussions held in society's appropriate institutions, and therefore, I do not want to elaborate on this here. However, I would like to mention several, in my opinion, key strategic theses.

The equality of peoples and nationalities is the first condition for Yugoslavia's existence. This is why we cannot accept anybody's privileged position, whether this is founded on numerical superiority, economic development, or on any other basis. Yugoslavia can only exist as a true federation, or it will not exist. This is why there can be no alternative to the federal organization, nor can there be a unitarian or confederalist organization. What is determined to be the role of the state at the federal level—fully respecting the fundamental principles of the AVNOJ in relation to the republics and federation—must be made rational and effective to the maximum.

This is not the case at present and represents the cause of our possible and existing difficulties. This category includes among other things the duties of the SFRY Presidency as the collective head of state and the supreme organ in a case of war. This therefore refers primarily to the duties of the SFRY Presidency rather than to the methods of election and verification.

As far as the economic sphere is concerned, we in the YPA particularly strive for a modern economy and are not afraid of any restoration of capitalism, because it is well-known that capitalism has solved its problems and has borrowed much from the arsenal of the Marxist political economy. Second, we strive for an adequate but realistic social program which will facilitate rather than threaten the transition to the market economy. Third, the existence of a unified Yugoslav economy is the condition for the existence of Yugoslavia as a federal community.

The weaknesses in this respect have led to the breaking of Yugoslavia. In the future the situation could be even worse, perhaps irreversable. The defeat of the counterrevolution in Kosovo is one of the fundamental conditions for Yugoslavia's existence. This is why poor discussions, views, and particularly opportunistic behavior in carrying out the tasks adopted by the legal institution of Yugoslavia are, in our opinion, unacceptable. This is why these tasks should be consistently carried out regardless of their complexity and multilayer nature.

As far as the place and role of the LCY in this situation are concerned, I would like to recall that it was only the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, as the vanguard of the workers class, that was able to unite our peoples and nationalities in our country with its program and organization and with its exemplary general and specific features, and to create a joint home of equal peoples and nationalities. It will be a long time before the LCY assumes this role. This is why the LC organization in the YPA proposed in September last year that the LCY carries out its reform and put itself into the fore of the movement of all social reforms.

This road is, in our opinion, not realistic at present because of the time in which the economic and constitutional reforms are conducted and particularly because of the situation in the LCY. However, we are of the opinion that the LCY's work on this task is already needed now, but that there should be some changes in the order of its activities.

The preparations for own reforms, as is envisaged, should be indeed fundamentally and rapidly completed. The speed is necessary, but if it is to be to the detriment of quality it could turn out to be not only counterproductive but also, if I dare say, fatal. In order to properly carry out its difficult tasks, the LCY Central Committee should, in addition to cadre changes, also have a more operative and efficient executive organ—the Presidium—so that it can significantly reduce its size and personally refresh itself.

Bosnian Miners Continue 9 Dec Strike in Kakanj

LD1212203788 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1840 GMT 12 Dec 88

[Text] Kakanj, December 12 (TANJUG)—Around 3,000 workers of the brown coal mines in Kakanj, republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, went on strike last Friday.

The management and the miners are today negotiating the workers' demand for a 20-percent wage increase and an increase in the traditional compensation for their holiday, Miners' Day.

The management still claims there is no money for a wage increase while the miners believe that the money must be found, even in republican or federal funds. Around 200 managers said they would resign.

This year's strike in Kakanj coincides with the date of last year's strike, and the miners are once again pointing out the numerous problems which are being settled very slowly or not at all. The problems are bad business deals, destruction of machines, protectionism in distribution of flats and loans, irregularities in the distribution, ineffectiveness of the trade union and party, violation of self-management decisions and lack of responsibility for all this.

If their demands are not met, the miners demand buses which would take them to Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Miners Marching to Sarajevo

LD1212211288 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2030 GMT 12 Dec 88

[Text] Kakanj, 12 Dec (TANJUG)—After 6 hours of unsuccessful negotiating at today's extraordinary meeting between miners from the Kakanj brown coal mine and their leadership, about 3,000 miners decided to set out for Sarajevo, to the Republican Assembly.

Their demands for an increase in additional payments for Miners' Day and an increase in payment for November were not accepted by the management of the mine and representatives of the republican Executive Council.

After leaving the sports hall, where they held a meeting, the miners marched in a column, at the head of which they bore Yugoslav and miners' flags, and Tito's picture. They were also offered transportation by bus, but the miners refused to wait. Representatives of the strike committee stated that they will wait outside the republican assembly until their demands are met. It is not known how many miners have set out on this approximately 50 km journey.

Miners End 5-Day Strike

LD1312090888 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0631 GMT 13 Dec 88

[Excerpts] Sarajevo, 13 Dec (TANJUG)—This morning at 0600 [0500 GMT] miners of the Kakanj brown coal mine decided to end their 5-day strike and return to work. They reached this decision in Skenderija Hall in Sarajevo, where they had arrived just before 0300, having travelled from Kakanj. They did this only after representatives of republican organs had adopted their demand to increase the Miners Day allowance from 200,000 to 500,000 dinars. [passage omitted] Resources for the increased allowance, as was explained to the miners by Nikola Selak, president of the Chamber of Municipalities of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Assembly, are ensured, thanks to assistance from the republican organs, who gave the mine a loan at an interest rate of 25 percent.

The management of the Kakanj mine again stated that this increase in the Miners Day allowance would mean ending business this year with a loss. For this reason, as chairman of the management board of the mine, Franjo Petricevic stressed the whole of the management team at the mines, comprising some 200 people, would submit their unconditional resignations. The workers' council will probably decide upon this today.

The Kakanj miners began their strike on Friday afternoon. At an extraordinary collective meeting on Saturday lasting several hours they were unable to reach agreement with their mangagement. Talks yesterday were also unsuccessful. A delegation from the republican organs was not able to help either, and after 6 hours of meetings about 2,000 miners from the mine set out on foot at 2100 last night for Sarajevo. They walked 20 km, as far as Visoko, and then agreed to take buses to Sarajevo. Accepting this decision on the fulfillment of their demands the miners this morning decided unanimously that they would make up all the lost working hours.

LCY Central Committee Presidium Meets 12 Dec

Discusses Stances on Kosovo

LD1212190188 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1026 GMT 12 Dec 88

[Text] Belgrade, 12 Dec (TANJUG)—The LCY Central Committee Presidium held a sesion last night [as received] to discuss the report on the implementation of the immediate tasks of the 17th LCY Central Committee session relating to the problems in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo and the most recent events in the province. Today the report was distributed to members of the Central Committee attending the 19th LCY Central Committee Plenum.

The LCY Central Committee Presidium adopted the following assessments and stances:

1. Following the 17th LCY Central Committee session, the political and security situation in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo has worsened. This is reflected in particular in the exacerbation of intranational division and lack of trust, this being the gravest consequence of the 1981 counterrevolutionary activity by Albanian nationalism and separatism, which is also trying to maintain the momentum; in mass gatherings and demonstrations by citizens of Albanian nationality in Kosovo, particularly in Pristina between 17 and 21 November this year; and in the danger that such a situation could be repeated.

The LCY Central Committee Presidium points out that the deeper causes of the grave and complex situation in Kosovo were laid down in the political platform of the LCY on Kosovo, and elaborated on in the conclusions of the 9th LCY Central Committee session, but evidently there are no genuine results or necessary united action to remove these causes.

The crucial problem lies in the fact that even after the 17th LCY Central Committee session, the LC organs in Kosovo have not been successful in implementing the set tasks, and that further homogenization, divisions, mistrust, and even opposition on a nationalist basis in connection with the measures which should have been taken by the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee, particularly accountability measures in connection with point 9 of the immediate tasks of the 17th session, have taken place. These divisions are also manifested in the Kosovo LC—from the basic organiztions right up to the provincial committee and its Presidium—and this has seriously jeopardized its ideological and political ability and unity, and has had a negative knock-on effect on the already disrupted intranational relations. The organs of authorities have also failed to ensure the protection, safety, rights and freedoms of the citizens of the Serbian and Montenegrin nationalities, who are emigrating at an undimished pace under constant pressure from Albanian nationalists and separatists.

Insufficient commitment by Kosovo LC organs and LC members in the Socialist Alliance, the trade unions, and relevant organs of authority to implementing the attitudes of the LCY Central Committee Presidium and tasks of the 17th LCY Central Committee session in connection with the draft amendments to the Serbian Constitution, as well as the harmful politization in this connection, represent the main reason for the fact that serious disinformation has been spread regarding the essence and the scope of the constitutional changes, theses launched by Albanian separatist nationalism about "depriving the Albanian nationality of its rights," and rumors circulated about the alleged abolition of the right of Albanians to use their language on an equitable basis, depriving peasants of Albanian nationality of their land, and such like. On the other hand, demands by Serbian and Montenegrin nationalists to abolish autonomy in Kosovo, to dissolve the organs of authority and the political organs of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, and so forth, have also contributed to the worsening of the situation in connection with the constitutional changes. All this has introduced confusion and fear among a large number of members of the Albanian nationality, and encouraged their resistance to constitutional changes. It is obvious that despite the warning sounded by the 17th session, the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee is failing to consolidate and strengthen its ranks, implement its tasks, or bear its responsibility. The extraordinary session of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee confirmed the decisions on cadre changes, but mostly through its own action, it has led to a deepening of the differences regarding the present events and other major problems.

Some public information media, which, with their various and biased interpretations of certain events, have encouraged an anti-Serbian and anti-Albanian climate, and have thus expanded space for various manipulations and divisions as for hostile antisocialist pressures and provocations, and also contributed significantly to creating an unfavorable political climate and tension in intranational relations following the 17th LCY Central Committee session.

The worsening of the political security situation throughout the country has also been a contributing factor to the worsening of the political security situation in Kosovo. The growing nationalism, disunity in the LCY, and the strengthening of disintegrating tendencies in society not only make stabilization difficult; they are also conducive to the exacerbation of the conditions in Kosovo.

2. The preparation for and holding of the 18th Kosovo LC Provincial Committee session, which should have established the political responsibility of members of the Presidium and of the provincial committee, carry out political differentiation and set in train the cadre renewal, in conformity with the conclusions of the 9th and 17th sessions of the LCY Central Committee, was used as the main and direct pretext for the first mass rallies and subsequent demonstrations by citizens of Albanian nationality. Particular dissatisfaction was caused by the proposal concerning the accountability of K. Jasari, president of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee, and A. Vlasi, member of the Presidium, as well as by the decision of the LC provincial committee that they be relieved of their duties. The reasons for this were some sensationalist press articles and some unsubstantiated and unprincipled demands and slogans heard at some meetings and gatherings related to individual cadres of Albanian nationality and to the Albanian nationality as a whole; also among these were proposals about K. Jasari's and A. Vlasi's criminal responsibility. Other reasons were the draft amendments to the Constitution of the SR of Serbia, or rather, lack of information, tendentious rumors, and disinformation, as well as existing opposition to some proposals in the draft.

The Presidium assessed that the organizers and inspirators of the rallies and demonstrations had deeper and more far-reaching goals, that is, to prevent the implementation of the tasks of the 17th LCY Central Committee session concerning the responsibility of the Kosovo LC leadership and the constitutional changes in the SR of Serbia; to block the LC action aimed at implementing the LCY policy on Kosovo and stabilizing the social and political conditions in this province. Thwarting this action objectively implies continued pressure on Serbs and Montenegrins to emigrate, creating an ethnically pure Kosovo, and achieving the aim of "Kosovo - a republic," an aim which is counterrevolutionary and directed against the constituional order of the SR of Serbia and of the SFRY. This is also borne out by the presence in those demonstrations of some well-known Albanian nationalists and separatists who, particularly toward the end, tried to orchestrate matters by making unacceptable and hostile slogans. However, a large number of workers, young people, and other participants, through their declared socialist attitude, particularly at the beginning, would not be involved. Later, however, growing manipulations and abuses and increasingly overt placing of nationalistic and hostile messages, became evident.

The LCY Central Committee Presidium notes that these gatherings and demonstrations inflicted great damage to an already complex political situation, reflected negatively on the intranational relations in Kosovo, deepened national divisions, and above all intensified the feelings of insecurity and danger facing ther Serbian, Montenegrin and other nationalities, including a considerable number of the Albanian population in Kosovo, thus posing the threat of grave intranational conflicts and a further increase in the emigration of the Serbian and Montenegrin population. Another particular contributing factor to this situation were also the crude provocations by demonstrators in Kosovo Polje and Gracanica, while they had been passing in large numbers through these towns and gathering there before leaving for Pristina, thus exerting major political and psychological pressure on Serbs and Montenegrins in those areas.

3. The LCY Central Committee, on the basis of available facts, assessed that mass gatherings of citizens of Albanian nationality throughout Kosovo between the 17-21 November 1988, which gradually assumed the form of demonstrations, had been organized. This is indicated also by the evident synchronization of the rallies, continuing arrivals in Pristina from various places in the province, organized movements through the streets, identical selection and display of flags and slogans, existence of group leaders, and synchronized suspension of work in some schools and organizations of associated labour. Also at these rallies there had been spontaneity and expressions of dissatisfaction about the situation both in the country as a whole, and in Kosovo.

The LCY Central Committee Presidium noted that the relevant state organs in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, the SR of Serbia, and the Federation have still not identified the organizers of the protest rallies and demonstrations. The LC organs and other political bodies in the province have as yet provided only preliminary political assessments in connection with the rallies and demonstrations. The fact that relevant state organs and the Kosovo LC organs were unprepared when the demonstrations broke out shows that they are not sufficiently capable of appraising and controlling the political situation.

4. The LCY Central Committee Presidium noted that it is the political organs and the organs of power in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo which bear most of the responsibility for those events and their political consequences, and that the provincial LC committee bore the greatest responsibility, above all, its Presidium. In this context, one cannot overlook the part of the responsibility borne by the organs of the LC of Serbia and of the LCY in conformity with their role. [Transmission interrupted; TANJUG parts 6 and 7 not received]

Following the 17th LCY Central Committee session, the LCY Central Committee Presidium and members of the LCY Central Committee responsible for the Municipal LC organizations in Kosovo have also been fully involved. At its two sessions, the LCY Central Committee Presidium discussed the activities connected with the preparations for the 18th Kosovo LC Provincial Committee session, and ascertained its assessments and standpoints, while at another six sessions it discussed the tasks connected with resolving the existing problems in Kosovo. Furthermore, in this period, members and executive secretaries of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, as well as members of the LCY Central Committee, were present in Kosovo, and were particularly committed between 17-21 November this year during the mass rallies and demonstrations.

On the basis of a critical analysis of the implementation of the immediate tasks of the 17th LCY Central Committee session, particularly point 9 of those tasks, as well as on the basis of examining the causes, consequences, and nature of the protest rallies and political demonstrations by citizens of Albanian nationality in Kosovo between 17-21 November, the LCY Central Committee Presidium stressed the need for a much more efficient and unified action by LCY members, organizations and organs, particularly in the following directions:

A. To ensure complete consistency and efficiency of the Kosovo LC in its actions aimed at fully implementing the conclusions of the 9th and 16th LCY Central Committee sesions relating to Kosovo. In so doing, it is necessary to take concrete measures of responsibility for any phenomenon of deviation, tardiness, hesitation, and opportunism when implementing those tasks. Such activity calls for the organs and organizations of the Kosovo LC, Serbian and (?LC), and of the LCY to act together and in unity;

B. To launch the broadest political action among Communsits of the working class, among all working people in Kosovo, and above all, in the ranks of the Albanian nationality; in order to create a unified socialist front of Albanians, Serbs, Montenegrins, and members of all the nations and nationalities in Kosovo; to develop the broadest mass political work by relying on the working class and popular masses in Kosovo in the struggle for a harmony, freedom and security for all; to halt the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins; and to defeat all sources of Albanian nationalism and separatism, and of Serbian, Montenegrins and all other types of nationalism;

C. To direct LC activity among the working people and citizens in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo toward interpreting the significance of the constitutional changes and, in this context, to affirm consistently the ideological and political standpoints established by the LCY in connection with these issues; toward explaining and affirming the nature and goals of the three reforms—the economic and political reform, and the LCY reform—particularly the need for and significance of these reforms in resolving the grave problems of the economic crisis as well as the political and other problems facing society.

D. To detemine as urgently as possible the causes, inspirators and organizers of these rallies and demonstrations by involving the relevant organs in the province, the SR of Serbia, and the federation;

E. To ensure that the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium—with the cooperation and assistance of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium and the LCY Central Committee Presidium, and proceeding from these assessments and stances—prepares for the next provincial committee session a comprehensive analysis of the causes, motives, aims, and nature of the mass rallies of the citizens of Albanian nationality, as well as a proposal of tasks for the further action of the LC in this context. Within this framework, the Presidium and the provincial committee should make a critical analysis of their own work responsibility;

F. To continue, with the aim of implementing the tasks of the 9th, 16th and 17th LCY Central Committee sessions, the process of ideopolitical differentiation at the provincial committee, and to carry out a cadre renewal of the Presidium and of the provincial committee at the next session conforming with the criteria established by the LCY, particularly with point 9 of the 17th LCY Central Committee session tasks. This differentiation and cadre renewal process should be carried out by the provincial committee, with the full participation of Kosovo LC members and organizations. Cadres enjoying the trust of members of all nations and nationalities in Kosovo should be elected to the leadership, while the changes should be made by democratic procedure, which should ensure the agreement of the grass roots and the trust of the socialist public, according to the LCY Statute.

G. To take the necessary measures to elaborate and implement all other tasks contained in point 9 of the immediate tasks adopted at the 17th LCY Central Committee session in the direction of achieving full legal safeguards and security of all citizens, and of making all institutions of the system capable of protecting constitutionality and legality, particularly when linked to ending the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo.

Debate on Economy

LD1212215488 Belgrade TANJUG in English
2002 GMT 12 Dec 88

[Text] Belgrade, December 12 (TANJUG)—The thesis for the economic reform and recently adopted constitutional amendments are a good foundation for deep changes in the economic system, but they should be accompanied with political reform and changes in the party, the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) Central Committee said in today's debate.

The Central Committee predicted that next year will bring the greatest difficulties [word indistinct] the economy and society, at the start of the reform. They said that would cause greater social tension, but that the [word indistinct] not be abandoned.

The prevailing opinion is that a large-scale cadre change is needed in the leadership because, as one speaker said, those who led us to the crisis cannot lead us out.

The session warned that it was necessary to curb inflation first (this year's rate stands at 236 percent) so that workers would gain confidence in the success of the reform.

The unity of reform forces will be (?preserved) only if the reform produces results next year, Dr Jurij Bajec (Serbia) said. He said the federal government must persevere in the reform and resist all political pressure to dilute it.

Jakov Lazaroski, (?Macedonia) and Central Committee [word indistinct] said the LCY must provide clear answers to all open questions of the economic reform, especially in regard to accusations that it will restore capitalism and abandon self-management.

He said redefining socialism was inevitable, but dogmatism had penetrated deep into the awareness of the people and the battle with it will be long and difficult.

Dusan Ckrebic, LCY Presidency member, warned that the market economy concept urged by the party cannot be based only on copying solutions from countries with capitalist economies and said it was necessary to theoretically work out the manner of business operations in Yugoslavia's socialist self-managing system.

The session said the start of the reform would bring the greatest difficulties to the economic and banks of underdeveloped republics and Kosovo Province. Proposals were voiced for those economies to be consolidated previously.

The session warned that a reform of the state was needed along with economic reform. Ante Markovic (Croatia) noted that the state cnnot replace the economy, but its role must be clearly defined in a modern market economy and development.

Bearing in mind that party reform was needed for the economic reform to succeed, some Central Committee members asked for changes in the LCY program which was adopted in Ljubljana in 1958.

The session [words indistinct] ideological prejudices, establishing greater unity and stabilising the political situation in the country as basic preconditions for the reform.

Mikulic Addresses Plenum

LD1212235188 Belgrade TANJUG in English
2325 GMT 12 Dec 88

[Text] Belgrade, December 12 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Government and Economic Reform Commission believe that the high inflation rate in the country should be gradually quelled with economic measures not shock therapy which showed no results so far, Federal Premier Branko Mikulic said today.

Mikulic told the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) Central Committee Plenum in Belgrade that the main measures to supress the annual 236 percent inflation rate were changes in economic structure, reviving production and increasing exports with greater investments. He said conditions existed in Yugoslavia to realise this.

The LCY plenum is discussing ideological and political aspects of the economic reform.

Mikulic recalled that prices were frozen five times in the 1979-85 period and maximised once for at least a month in one year and seven months at the most.

There were no positive results, however, because there was no readiness to freeze public spending and wages at the same time, to bring spending to less than earnings.

Yugoslavia muffled inflation with 10 billion dollars in accumulations in the past decade, the same amount in balance of payments deficits and 36 billion dollars deficits in trade, a total of 56 billion dollars, Mikulic said.

He said expenses were continuously greater than domestic production over the past 25 years. This was covered with foreign debts, mostly for investments.

Yugoslavia had a continuous inflow of foreign accumulation in the 1956-81 period, and recorded a net outflow of domestic accumulation over the past decade to repay its foreign debts.

At times, over 10 percent of the social product was engaged for the payments.

The trend to spend more than is earned continues this year, Mikulic said, and internal debts and inflation are booming.

Mikulic said economy losses were a greater problem than the over-20-billion-dollar foreign debt in overcoming stagnation in the country.

Mikulic said a positive effect was achieved with the reprogramming of almost half the country's foreign debt and the 9 billion dollars that other countries owe it.

He said the government reform commission was preparing solutions for the internal debts and added that special solutions are being sought to specific problems in underdeveloped parts of Yugoslavia which will not be able to take the burden off the new economic measures.

Mikulic appealed for political consensus on measures to suppress inflation. He said political tension in the country—the difficult situation in Kosovo Province where Albanian separatists are active, increased social tension, deteriorated relations between the leaderships of the republics and provinces, weakening role and influence of federal bodies and increased particularist tendencies were making the reform increasingly difficult to carry out.

He opposed demands for creators of economic policy to be the sole bearers of responsibility because the implementation of the policy is impossible without the engagement of all state, social and political organs.

Korosec on Economic Restructure

LD1212212088 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0618 GMT 12 Dec 88

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 12 Dec (TANJUG)—More than 30 years ago, said Stafan Korosec at the beginning of his introductory speech, the LCY in its program clearly defined its relationship toward the economic laws of production and formulated the ideological basis for the system of socialist self-management. However, in the practice of socialist development, we have not prepared ourselves consistently so as to completely break away from the dangers of etatism and bureacratism, from the party monopoly and the dominance of politics over the economy. The potential advantages of our system of socialist self-management have not been developed or achieved. For this reason we have fallen into a deep economic and social crisis.

Without a fundamental changing of the "model" of socialism we have in our heads, said Korosec,—which, in fact, arose under conditions of the original socialist industrialization and urbanization—without a moving of the borders in our perception of the vision of socialism, and I would say even of the "new model" of socialism and the strategy for its material and spiritual development, there can be no way out, either from the current economic crisis, from socialism's crisis of development.

In our assessment of the results achieved and our appraisal of the dynamics of the reforms' implementation in socialist countries, we must start by respecting the specific aspects of the various paths in the development of socialism.

We must assemble our forces and make a break with the mistakes and errors in our self-managing socialist development to date. Since the 1960's, several reforms have been set in motion in this country, but these always remained half measures. So it is no surprise that we have not achieved the expected results and that, particularly in the last 10 years, we have been lagging increasingly behind, not only the developed countries of the world, but even behind some of the developing ones.

In the implementation of all our reforms, Korosec said, we have faced dogmatic criticism from the two components that are vital for greater effectiveness in economic activity. In the first place, there is a lack of confidence in the independence of economic subjects; second, there is the widely embedded attitude that the market and the production of goods are exclusively capitalist economic categories, alien to socialism. In addition, all the economic reforms were condemned to failure because there was no crossing of the Rubicon in essential political reforms and in the transformation of the LC along the lines announced as early as the 1952 sixth congress. Thus there is a large gap between fundamental political orientations and the real separation of the party from power. Current events are the best indication that without essential changes in this sphere, we still cannot carry out economic or any other kind of reform.

Thus the existing models of socialism, Korosec continued, both our own and others in the world, have become rigid, too ossified for socialism to confirm itself finally as a a succesful and attractive alternative to capitalism. We are not entering into reforms only in order to get out of the acute economic and social crisis, but also because of the static nature of the current form of socialism and equally because of our historical responsibility for socialism's destiny. We must face the truth that we do not have an overall conception and vision of socialism in the future, taking into account the new possibilities, controversies, and dilemmas in the development of the contemporary world. For this reason, a new and clear thinking-out of an overall conception of the socialism of the future is also a vital condition for the strengthening of certainty and prospects, for the mobilization and assembling of all forces of reform under our conditions of socialist self-management, from which basic strategy we are not departing.

We are at a crossroads. We can either return to state socialism, in which exist a monopoly role for the state party and an apparent equality in poverty, or we can move forward toward a socialist society of the 21st century.

In our search, we should rely both on the history and on the idea of socialism and on all the cultural values and achievements of bourgeois society, but also on our basic programmatic visions and experiences in the construction of the system of socialist self-management.

Historical experience up to now, in the opinion of Korosec, shows that socialism as a world process is not developing according to some kind of socieconomic laws that are self contained, independent from the rest of the world and mankind, nor according to any generally applicable models or schemes. For this reason, one cannot speak of some united, general vsion of socialism in the 21st century which is acceptable for all countries and movements. This also applies to consideratons of the Yugoslav vision of socialism.

So that our considerations about the potentials of socialism, about a vision of socialism in the 21st century, are not simply utopian or a poor ideological construction, we must above all establish which conceptions, ideas theoretical assumptions, and prognoses in the development of socialism have not withstood the historical test up to now. At the same time, we must preserve and defend that which has been historically confirmed despite many teething troubles, and which should be carried further in the development of socialism throughout the world and in Yugoslavia. So it is a question of trends and processes in which new things arise constantly and continuously. In this respect, as is stated in the LCY program, nothing exists that is "so sacred that it canot give way to something better, more advanced, and more humane."

Speaking of the forthcoming economic reform, Korosec said that there was, witout doubt, delay in its preparations. Some tasks have not been carried out on time, nor has the whole of society been prepared for the changes that come with a new quality of economic development. We must adopt as soon as possible the most important laws of the system, taking care in this respect that, owing to the short lead time, their quality is not brought into question and bearing in mind that we can achieve nothing by improvization. [passage omitted]

For the development of any economy, especially by world standards a small econmy such as Yugoslav's, Korosec continued, it needs to be involved to a great extent in international economic trends.

We must examine our position in Europe and the world, evaluating our nonbloc and nonaligned status and the advantages to be gained by implementing the reforms.

Integration—both in West and East Europe and between them, of course, in different ways and by means of different mechanisms—is basically a reaction to challenges of new technological competition and the new structural basis for development in the world. Maybe there is the prospect of the creation of a United States of Europe in the not so distant future.

Obviously, one of the basic factors of economic development in Europe is the EEC which will become the Common Market of 18 countries in the near future. The CEMA member countries will probably begin creating in the foreseeable future a common market with criteria and standards which cannot be substantially different from standards and criteria in the enlarged EEC.

Thus, Korosec stressed, the functional and development linking of Yugoslavia and the EEC and CEMA is only a form of including Yugoslavia in a wider context of objective prevailing trends in the world economy. This neither presupposes our political concessions to any side, not does it jeopardize the socialist character of our society. It is necessary to ensure a "European" degree of efficiency at all levels of the social organization.

In cooperation with the EEC, Korosec said, the existing mechanisms and channels of relations should be perfected, the requirements of the EEC reforms should be accepted—from inclusion in the information system to adjusting regulations and to legal regulations in a broad field (above all in trade and transport) and accepting new (European) standards, that is, regulations on quality. It is especially important to improve the Yugoslav approach to the EEC market.

An estimate of our internal rate of adjustment, that is reform, Korosec stressed, must be a basis for the FEC to make an estimate of our possibilities for a further approach to the EEC, taking into account all possible variants—for instance, that we are for a certain period only an associate member and to become a full member at a precisely determined deadline.

When we talk about Europe and the place of our economy in the near future, we must not only answer the question of what it means for us to stay an isolated island within the European integration, but also urgently prepare and initiate a practical policy which will form the basis for future decisions for authorized and compentent bodies for that.

Within all the integrational processes in Europe and the clearer orientation of the Yugoslav place in them, Korosec said, it is necessary to examine more closely relations with CEMA and to ensure contemporary and for us advantageous ways of further linking the Yugoslav economy with this organization. Above all, a way of including our orgnizations of associate labor in individual developmental and technological CEMA programs must be examined in more detail, as well as conditions for long-term cooperation between our economy and the economies of CEMA members, that is, between our and their enterprises.

Our active policy of integration with Europe, according to Korosec, is not and cannot be an impediment to development of economic and all other relations with nonaligned and developing countries. On the contrary, only a dynamic, stable and technologically modern economy of nonaligned Yugoslavia can effectively improve economic relations with developing countries. Preparations for the next summit of heads of states or governments of nonaligned countries in Belgrade are an opportunity for us to make our contribution to an adjustment of the development strategy of international economic relations to new demands.

For the LC and all other socialist progressive forces, Korosec continued, the preparation and implementation of economic reform are a political question which has priority, because it is of vital historical importance for the continuation of our socialist revolution and for further affirmation of socialist self-management. But for the successful implementation of economic reform consideration is needed of real economic trends and real everyday problems which workers and citizens daily face and which we must solve more efficiently in the next year.

It is our opinion that in the conception and preparation of the economic reform, we started basically from established ideopolitical orientations and the LC policy on the whole. All solutions in the economic system should be even more firmly grounded in the strategic ideological orientations, and form as a whole and develop the entire economic system ensuring its efficiency based on self-management.

In discussions regarding preparations for today's LCY Central Committee session, Korosec stressed, the following question has been frequently raised: When, how, and with what in the economic reform? We are at the beginning of economic reform, a process of deeper changes in our society, which has started. We still have no prepared overall concept of economic reform. We have agreed stances on its vision. We have decided on its basis and have adopted the constitutional changes. We must not allow individual laws to contradict ideological orientations. This also holds for draft laws with which we are starting to reform the economic system at the beginning of next year. Many dilemmas present themselves during the preparation of economic reform. The economic structure must especially contribute to the further development of economic reform, the structure which admits that all ideological taboos have fallen.

The meaning of new categories, organizational forms and relations which are being introduced into the economic system must be thoroughly clarified in the LC and society as a whole, because objections and criticisms by various sides are raised to the effect that thereby the capitalist system is being restored and the self-managing socialism is endangered. Some criticize because they are burdened by doctrinaire attitudes and dogmatism, and others because they are inadequately informed about the nature of things.

So I stress that the introduction of relations of a capitalist nature is not at stake. It is a question of enriching forms and content of socialist self-management with employing solutions and instruments from the contemporary market economy which enable the efficiency of our system to be improved and the creative abilities of each working person and citizen to be expressed for his or her own well-being and for the benefit of all society. Social ownership and self-management remain an inseparable part of our socialist development.

Only within conditions of a further democratization of production and social relations and their destatization, Korosec said, with effective activity of the economic laws and market and with regulating economic currents by economic, not administrative measures is it possible to consolidate the material basis of the socialist self-management, and hence, its real renaissance. In order for self-management to be more efficient in a further development, a clear line must be drawn between what self-management and management with social ownership and the work process.

It is also necessary to distinguish self-management from management. The basic subject of self-management is workers in work organizations, that is, enterprises, who should decide about the most important questions of development and relations in production and distribution. At no point can such authentic and inalienable self-managing rights of workers be questioned. But management problems should be decided by managements bodies that the workers elect. It is crucial to ensure the control function of workers and self- managing organs, as well as the necessary operational independence and accountability of managing cadres.

The key problem of the socialist self-management development, Korosec stated, is the low efficiency of social ownership to date. Increased efficiency of social ownership as social capital on the market basis is of vital importance not only for emerging from the social and economic crisis, but also for the future of socialist self-management. Experience confirms that there is no development of socialist self-management and socialism without respect for the economic laws of production and without the market.

Social ownership is and will remain the predominant form of ownership in our country, but for our development it is crucial that more efficient management of social ownership be achieved. The cornerstone of efficient social ownership is the consistent development of accepted principles in the amendments which state that in addition to the current labor the social means form the basis for management and appropriation of results of labor achieved through business activities with these means.

The activation and development of other forms of ownership—collective, private, and mixed—is of great importance for a way out of the economic crisis, Korosec said. The affirmation of small businesses and private enterprise is possible only if the LC and all other organized forces call for a radical break with the dogmatic equating of social ownership with socialism, and with the treatment of private enterprise and private resources as the vestiges of capitalism.

The realization of the constitutional amendments calls for vital changes in the economic system, and particularly in the system of extended reproduction. However, it is in this sphere that in practice the greatest disagreements arise, particularly disagreements of an ideological nature. The question arises as to whether the introduction of shares and bonds with a variable yield, which presupposes the establishing of a financial market, departs from the self- managing concept and social nature of resources for production.

In respect to this question, Korosec said, we must be clear: It is our stance that by the consistent realization of the LC's adopted decisions, in particular those adopted at the LCY conference, and of the social decisions in the amendments, we are only creating the essential preconditions for the further development of socialist self-management, for its effectiveness, for a more productive socialism. Because there can be no self-management or socialism if we do not create the conditions wherein by controlling social ownership we can show its effectiveness.

However, we must also clearly determine the way of using shares and bonds and the mutual relationship of workers in organizations which are investing resources, as well as the rights of workers and citizens who are investing their own resources. The point of departure in all this must be the independence and responsibility of workers in organizations of associated labor in determining the conditions under which they receive and allocate resources, governed, of course, by market conditions and mutual interests. With the constitional amendments, many issues relating to the way in which organizations of associated labor are organized have been resolved.

The work organization as a self-managing enterprise, in Korosec's opinion, must in the new conditions be independent, economically responsible, the bearer of risks, and the basic factor of market activity. Every form of enterprise must be the bearer of all rights and obligations in legal dealings in the market and the enterprise will be managed, depending upon the form of ownership, by workers, management organs, investors, and owners of resources. It is very important that it should be clearly determined what are the self-managing rights of workers in an enterprise, regardless of the form of ownership, rights which cannot be brought into question and which must be protected by all legal and other means.

The fact is, Korosec said, that in our development to date, we have neglected the entrepreneurial spirit in theory, but even more in practice, and have often referred to it in terms of techno-managerial and speculative conduct. Entrepreneurial spirit is however part of the production process and business function of all work collectives and of every individual and is, by implication, necessary in the system of self-management.

As he said, we must stimulate to a greater extent business initiative and encourage both individuals and groups to perform successfully their entrepreneurial functions and deals. This means that we must for once stop deluding ourselves by thinking that the future potential entrepreneurs are our workers abroad, self-employed tradesmen, and so forth, and not our workers at home, producers, businessmen, bankers, and others. We must learn to consider it normal if university professors, workers, intellectuals, housewives, peasant-farmers—in short, if all citizens—become entrepreneurs, if it is in line with the regulations, and found firms and thus create profits.

An entrepreneur must be given freedom to develop his own ideas about how to set up his firm, how to choose his initial team, and must at the same time have his share in the profit. In this sense, the new systemic solutions are not explicit enough about support for entrepreneurs. What we must do is to stimulate the training of people for performing such functions. It would be no bad thing if we were to give our support for the existing initiatives set in motion by the economic chambers and organizations of associated labor under which a large number of future entrepreneurs would be trained at the best management colleges abroad. As part of the same initiative, we should start developing our own system of training future entrepreneurs in large numbers. [passage omitted]

The issue of income distribution is of fundamental importance for economic reform and society as a whole. They must thus be at the center of the LC's attention since our entire future development depends on the way the system of income distribution is regulated. The constitutional amendments and the work to date on restructuring the economic system have provided scope for decisive steps in the spehre of income and profit distribution on the principle of distribution according to work results.

According to Korosec, the new distribution system is based on the principle that workers in an organization of associated labor realize income through the evaluation of all the factors involved in production and running of business, on the basis of their work results as evaluated on the basis of market laws applicable to both economic and noneconomic sectors, and through free exchange of labor. The workers will decide on the share of income to be spent on general, personal and collective consumption in proportion with their contribution to the overall income which they made through their current labor, their management of socially-owned production means, and through their past labor.

The workers will independently determine the nature of terms of income distribution, but will have to adhere to certain general rules and conditions which regulate income distribution terms in public sector. The terms of income distribution are being radically changed in that they will no longer be determined through administrative measures, but rather by economic mechanisms and economic policy measures. [Passage omitted]

A special problem is posed by the fact that in the work to date the terms of income distribution on the basis of free exchange of labor, that is in the public sector as a whole, have not been clarified in any considerable way. We must overcome the view that the public sector activities, such as science and education should be treated as consumption while ignoring the fact that they are an important factor in the creation of new values. Present legislation neglects the issues of the need to provide equal terms for development in the sphere of culture as a vital element of the efforts to humanize relations among people and self-management and also for the development of those sectors which promote and reflect national identity of our nations and nationalities.

If the pubic sector activities are to become an integral part of associated labor and help its development, their reform must become a vital component of overall economic reform. This calls for a reorganization and restructuring of public sector activities and their adherence to economic principles.

The reform requires all sectors and areas to reexamine their programs of satisfying general social and common needs in according with society's present material potential.

Economic rents, to which we aspire, enter into the price of labor and as such constitute a vital element in the personal income structure and one of the conditions for overcoming inflation. This is relevant from the viewpoint both of incomes and of the creation of the conditions in which citizens and working people basically resolve their accomodation affairs on their own, but accompanied by the involvement of funds of work organizations for common expenditure, where there is a need for this, or funds of banks offering subsidized interest rates, of self-managing communities, and also of republic organs, or organs of municpalities or towns. [Passage omitted]

Constitutional changes and changes in the economic system and society as a whole require major transformations in the operation of the state as well. This refers to essential changes in the state's relationship to the economy, something which implies cadre training in state organs and their financing in keeping with the economic possibilities and the effectiveness of implementing the established functions. This also implies ithe consolidation of the authority of state organs, full responsibility, quality, expertise, work efficiency, and their modernization, cadre training, and also the resolute elimination of the phenomena of vacillation, sluggisheness, irresponsibility, lack of expertise and improvization in work. There should be a resolute elimination of the formalization of responsibility and the weakening of social influence on the work of state institutions and organizations, whose functioning is of existential importance for the satisfaction of the daily needs and interests of working people and citizens. In the state organs and organizations, there must be a resolute removal of irresponsibility, abuse, bureaucratic arbitrariness, and manipualtion, Korosec stressed.

We will not succeed in all this, he warned, unless we devote full attention to the development of the municipality as a self-managing community, accompanied by the resolute removal of statist and bureaucratic interference by municipal organs in economic and social life as a whole. It is vital to make a break with the practice whereby municipal organs, in league with leading factors in the sociopolitical communities and in the LC decide, directly or through intermediaries, on the fate of economic subjects and their leading cadres, investments, and current business operations.

The destatization of relations and debureaucratization of organs in the republics and provinces imply an uncompromising break with the practice of their direct interference in the organization and operations of business subjects and their refraining from controlling expanded reproduction and the imposition of investment solutions. In terms of the economic functions of the republics and provinces, the constitutional principle concerning their responsibility both for their own development and for the development of the Yugoslav socialist community as a whole is vital. The republics and provinces are obliged to have an attitude toward the implementation of the functions of the federation as they would toward their own functions and tasks. Unless this happens, there can be no development for ther the republics, or the provinces, or the country as a whole, the secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium said. [Passage omitted]

According to Korosec, the federation must be capable of implementing in a quality way its functions and tasks in the new conditions; here it is vital to strengthen the state's inspection function as a vital compenent in the implementation of common economic policy and successful and stable business transactions between economic subjects in the unified Yugoslav market.

It is necessary to reduce the hypertrophy of state and parastatal institutions which over the last 10 years or so have multiplied and have obviously become economically harmful and financially intolerable. A start should also be made without delay in drastically reducing the enormous bureaucratic apparatus in the organs of the state and in sociopolitical organizations, business communities, and the economy.

Unless this happens, it is not possible to take the heavy burden off the economy, which is stifling its operation and development. The Central Committe should in this connection give resolute support to the demand of the (?Presidium) in this action, Korosec observed.

Hence there should be primarily insistence on data relating to the overall system of social financing being available to the public. All sources, forms, and purposes of financing out of social funds must be available to the public, except in rare exceptional cases, determined in advance. This implies the abolition of all extra-budgetary balances and other forms of semilegal financing of general social expenditure which in the future should be realized through the budget, as well as the regular establishment and publication of consolidated balances of public (general and joint) consumption in all sociopolitical communities.

We must also make a decision, Korosec said, on the deficit financing of the state which, directly and by the generation of false money, is destabillizing the economy and is generating inflation. The reduction in the expenditure of state and parastatal institutions should begin with the federation, which takes up approximately 12 percent of the social product for these purposes, something which many more developed economies than ours could not sustain. All the more so as this is only part of the state's finances, the big spenders of which are the republics and provinces, the municipalities and intermunicipal communities, and a mass of other organizations and institutions. [passage omitted]

The structural changes will require severe cuts to be made in the economy: the disappearance or transformation of many enterprises, numerous changes in production, vocations and employment, but also problems in the resolution of the technological surplus of the employed and the search for fresh employment. Korosec is of the opinion that for this to happen new mechanisms and solidarity-style assistance in the sociopolitical communities for the retraining and fresh employment of workers must be created.

The policy of structural changes can rely only on the overall functioning of market, thus, market of good and social capital, financial market, market of labor and of know-how.

Changes in development and economic policy and the economic system ought to open important possibilities for productive employment and clear prospects for young generations. There is a need for formulating a new development and export philosophy and a concept of development which is adequate for the modern economy. This requires a revision of the current social plans and the adjustment of planning to demands of market, new technology, and contemporary organization of work. The constitutional changes and independence of the economic subjects must be respected thoroughly also in assessing needs for adopting one's own plans and programs of development, Korosec said. [passage omitted]

We are of the opinion that the utmost attention must be paid to the socioeconomic development of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, and that all the Yugoslav community must given its full support. This must be realized by the consistent implementation of the Yugoslav program for halting the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo and for the return of emigrants and all those who desire to live and work in this province, and by taking measures to consolidate financially the economy and banks, as well as other measures of economic and development policy. There must be greater accountability for the rational use of means in the province, and there must be urgent work on substantially changing the economic structure and methods for implementing the development policy.

In an extensive report, Korosec particularly stressed the exceptional significance of next year's economic policy, the expectations that it would be conducive to the implementation of new systemic solutions, that its measures would serve as a stopgap for the solutions not likely to be adopted before the beginning of the year, and that it would also constitute a crucial move, toward suppressing inflation.

Within this framework, he warned of the fact that this year the anti-inflation policy is a total failure. This is borne out by the fact that we will end 1988 with an inflation rate double of what it was last year. So devising an economic policy for the next year should be preceded by an analysis of the causes for this year's failure. An additional reason for doing this is that the anti-inflation policy model as outlined by the May measures can hardly be seriously criticized in the light of the theory and practice employed by many countries. The mistakes in its implementation should be established, but even more attention should be paid to everything that has not been done, but which has to be done if the efficient operation of the adopted model is to be ensured. This primarily refers to the unwillingness to create prerequisites for the economic subjects to facilitate their adoption of market criteria in econmic activity.

The May measures were introduced without even minimum conditions conducive to the operation of market laws, that is, without any economically independent subjects, Korosec said.

In his opinion, almost nothing has been done to suppress deficits in financing reproduction and to remove the causes for the internal debt. The terms of national income distribution have produced extremely bad effects—the status of general and common expenditure was retained and even consolidated, while the share of personal incomes and investments in the social product decreased. This led to serious demoralization of the working people and to the buildup of social tension. What is our responsibility in all this? How many organizations and individuals are these that have remained passive or even obstruct the realization of the reform's aims, the secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium asked.

The pressure of expenditure on the economy's income is constantly increasing and the price rises are accelerating. The chaos in the sphere of prices causes chaos in people's way of reasoning and beahavior! This is why comprehensive synchronized measures and activities are needed to curb inflation. The Central Committee can give its support only to such an economic policy that guarantees the control of and drastic reduction in inflation through employing primarily economic means and methods. All the activities and measures by the federation, the republics, the provinces, municipalities, and, of course, organizations of associated labor should be geared to this aim.

Turning to the program of measures which the FEC sent to the SFRY Assembly, Korosec noted that it signifies a struggle against inflation as the bare bones of next year's economic policy. But the impression is that this is a list of intentions behind which one cannot see clearly a concept and mechanisms for changing the economic trends. Workers' distrust has reached a critical point which can seriously block readines to undertake measures within the reform. Thus, requirements by the LCY Central Committee in respect to the criteria and aims of the economic policy must be completely clear. We must insist on accountability of bearers of the economic policy, showing trust not on the basis of proclamations, but only on the basis of results.

A radical redistribution of national income cannot be postponed to the advantage of the material basis of associated labor and at the expense of more or less all forms and bearers of primarily general and collective expanditure. Maximum mobilization is necesary for reaching social consensus, and it is necessary that the FEC, executive councils of the republican and provincial assemblies, and competent organs of municipalities propose anti-inflation budgets which would enable the radical relief of expenses and incomes, and not that the present practice of cosmetic interventions and almost quarterly rescheduling is continued. [passage omitted]

Until the undertaken measures guarantee that the principled orientations will translate into such economic policy requirements so that inflation will be curbed more and the population's living standards will be protected, our support for the policy can be only in principle. We reserve the right to withdraw such support at a time when we are sure that the bearers of such a policy do not show readiness or capability to implement it.

In preparing and implementing economic reform, we must bear in mind the real material conditions in which it will be carried out and take measures in conformity with the basic course of the reform and the material opportunities which will facilitate the adaptation of the economy to the demands of economic reform.

Because, if the huge internal debt is not resolved or if at least it does not begin to be cleared up, the prospects for succesfully financing the new institutions in the country are certainly poor.

We should insist in particular that, wherever possible, everyone should bear the consequences of that part of the deficit which he himself is creating. Putting an end to deficit financing must certainly start at the top, that is at the federal balance and the national bank of Yugoslavia where without any doubt there is a huge outstanding debt which amounted to 36 percent of the country's social product at the end of last year. All users of social resources should immediately reduce their estate and balance sheets to real values. In Korosec's view, this is one of the most significant steps in economic reform and in normalizing the conditions of the economic activity of the enterprises. Time is of the essence. The precondition to increase the efficiency of society as a whole lies in economic activity in conformity with the reform. To facilitate the transition in the dynamics of implementing the reform it is necessary to achieve economic and financial consolidation which will enable the economic subjects to create as much working capital as necessary for the self-financing of the current reproduction. [passage omitted]

The proposed constitutional law lays down that economic subjects must adapt their organizations to the demands of the new systemic regulations by 31 December 1991. The intention is to give the economy the necessary breathing space to adapt to the demands of the reform, and it is this time which should be filled with work on its elaboration and completion. In other words, at all levels of social organization and in all environments, but primarily in the economy, operative programs are necessary for the gradual introduction of new systemic solutions. Such a program by the federation, republics, and provinces should also contain a timetable for the adoption of other legislative regulations (after 1 Januray 1989) which comprise parts of the entity of the economic reform. The risks of an acelerated procedure into which we are forced could be perceptibly reduced if the economy, its associations, and the chambers of commerce were to involve themselves more directly in the final formulation of the regulations, Korosec stressed. To resolve the problems of social security and reemployment of workers who are left without jobs following rationalization of business activity or technological progress, in addition to certain activities by the workesr' enterprises to this end, relevant resources should also be provided by sociopolitical communities for immediate material support and other privileges and facilities for economic organizations which face these problems. [passage omitted]

In the final part of his speech, Korosec stressed that the political situation, which was particularly weighed down by the events in Kosovo, is exacerbated by the negative processes in all parts of the country, processes which are essentially nationalist in character, and by continued confrontations and censuring of individual leaderships and officials in the press. The fact is that the positive results of the 17th LCY Central Committee session are gradually disappearing, and the responsibility for this is borne by the LCY leaderships and organizations. We must be aware of the fact that forces opposed to the reform as well as anticommunist forces use this to escalate their attacks on the LCY and SFRY. We must not allow the crisis in the LCY to deepen or the positive effects of the 17th LCY Central Committee session to be discredited.

Regardless of all the weaknesses of the LCY, it is still the strongest cohesive factor of the Yugoslav community and the only one which can, within the front of all progressive forces, ensure a perspective. Faced with social reality, we must be aware of the fact that to continue the process of political destablilization and distintegration of our society reduces the opportunities for a successful implementation of the reform. Strengthening successfully these opportunities calls for organized, efficient, consistent and unified activity of the LCY in carrying out the first and charting the further moves of economic and social reform.

The LCY alone cannot achieve the goals of the reform. Therefore Korosec sees as our most urgent task, in addition to defining the concepts of the reform, in forming an alliance of reform forces in which its members will with the courage, realism and vanguard spirit play a fundamental role in implementing the goals and solutions of the reform. This must be an alliance of sections of the economy which are successful in their economic and export activity and which are technologically restructured innovatively; an alliance of capable production and all other workers and businessmen, potential entrepreneurs, of young people armed with knowledge, of intelligentsia, social institutions from the chambers of commerce up to banks and sociopolitical organizations and communities which will contribute not merely to creating a general social consensus for the reform, but also achieve general social mobilization for the reform's first, probably also painful, but decisive steps and reserves. [passage omitted]

One of the vital conditions for the success of the reforms is quality cadre restructuring as a continuous multifaceted process in which there will be appreciation of know-how, work results to date, programs on offer, and readiness and competition among cadres in all spheres of society. Thus we will facilitate the breakthrough of fresh ideas and knowledge, especially the involvement of young competent cadres because what continues to hinder us most are the old notions about new problems and new ways of solving them. A Cadre renewal is necessary from the economy, the superstructure, right up to foreign affairs, which as a whole will serve the successful implementation of the economic reforms. Here there should be no vacillation and delay.

Summing up the most important tasks, Korosec gave priority to halting the further growth of inflation and its gradual elimination within a foreseeable period (3-4 years), and also to the growth of production and exports, the growth of the social product, the halting of the further decline in the living standard, and the creation of the conditions for its growth. [Passage omitted]

Although the LCY's transformation will be specified, eleborated and implemented more precisely in the preparations for and realization of the 14th LCY Congress, we must even today and especially at the beginning of the reforms make more specific decisions on the necessary changes in the LCY. The stances of the 17th and 18th sessions of the LC Central Committee and what we have before us today are the best indication for this. We must renounce the conviction that we possess the historical truth for all times in advance, ensuring for the LC a position in social relations in which the economy functions quite normally although the LC is being broken up by internal crises.

In the LCY, we must stop dealing with ourselves and we must orient ourselves toward the united advocacy of a political and social climate in which the league of reform-minded forces is involved to realize the goals of the reforms, while ending the various mutual squabbles and the intolerant, unprincipled and inhumane settling of accounts with individuals, and both real and imaginary adversaries.

We must enter into broad-based activity to create a political climate and a mood for reforms among the working-class, working people, and citizens, armed with the knowledge that it will be most difficult to break up the blockade, which means the pact between the politicracy and a section of the working-class in which the workers give legitimacy to the politocracy in exchange for the ensuring of a minimum of social security, often accompanied also by idleness.

At present, public opinion is characterized much more by an anxiety over what the reforms will bring us than by the kind of results which we can expect from their implementation. The reason for this is also the restriction of work hitherto in the planning and elaboration of the economic reforms to a relatively narrow circle of scientific and specialist workers and officials. We must immediately make a resolute contribution, through or actions, to the greater dissemination of information to the basic subject of reforms—and these are working people and citizens. They, and not forums, will implement the reforms in practice.

The implementation of reforms requires that each subject of our society takes a close look at his position and his tasks within it and that he changes his mode of behavior, his attitude toward work, creativity, and responsibility. This must be done by each province, and each basic organizations and municipal committee as the initiator of broad-based social activity in each cell of our society. Members, leaderships, and organizations of the LC must understand that they can have influence as leading forces and the leader of the working-class only when campaining is done through argument, convincing people by showing an eminent example, by devotion to duty, showing initiative, creativity, and dignity. Trust will be generated and strengthened only if what they do and what they advocate yields specific results. Only in these terms will we be respected by communists and our organization—the working-class, the working people, and citizens.

The clarity of the goals which we wish to achieve and their great significance for overcoming inflation and instability and the certainty that we will by the implementation of these tasks open up a new stage in the futher development of socialist self-management and in the development of the production forces of our society in the creation of a socialism to suit the individual fill us with moderate optimism and are a precondition for our success, Stefan Korosec said at the end of his introductory speech.

Periodical Interviews Mikulic on Economy

LD0812164688 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1419 GMT 8 Dec 88

[Text] Ljubljana, Dec. 8 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav economic reform offers wide opportunities for Yugoslav citizens, including those returning from temporary work abroad, to invest their personal funds in practically all economic branches, Yugoslav Premier Branko Mikulic underscored in an interview to the Yugoslav periodical NAS DELAVEC.

Those self-employed may now appear directly at foreign markets if they are capable of it, said Mikulic. They have the opportunity to directly export and import equipment and goods for their enterprises and to purchase foreign currency at the foreign currency market in keeping with the established right about the import of goods.

Yugoslav citizens temporarily employed abroad, who number around one million, may always return to the country and no distinction is being made between Yugoslav citizens living in the country and those living abroad.

Mikulic underlined that Yugoslavia is taking measures in order that workers temporarily emoloyed abroad have the most possible contact with their homeland, and that the length of their stay abroad depends on objective circumstances and their personal aspirations.

Speaking about the possible changes in the position of Yugoslavs temporarily employed in West European countries after 1992, when E.C. member-countries' markets are to integrate, Mikulic said that Yugoslavia emphasizes in all its contacts with West European countries that it is necessary that the Yugoslavs working in foreign countries be treated the same as their own citizens. He added that Yugoslavia maintains a constant dialogue with E.C. member-countries with which it has a global agreement on cooperation, which includes cooperation in the field of "labor force".

The Yugoslav premier expressed hope that a "positive turn" can be expected in economy next year, which would significantly influence the stabilization of the political situation in the country. Realistic conditions are being created for making a more resolute turnabout next year towards resolving the very difficult situation in the autonomous province of Kosovo, from where Serbs and Montenegrins are emigrating under pressure from Albanian chauvinists and separatists, Mikulic assessed.

Federal Chamber Adopts 1989 Draft Budget

LD1312160488 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 13 Dec 88

[Excerpt] The Federal Chamber of the Yugoslav Assembly held a session today. The delegates accepted the draft budget for next year, while calling on the Federal Executive Council to prepare the proposed document as soon as possible, taking into account to the greatest possible extent all the comments and suggestions which have been made, both in the Yugoslav Assembly and elsewhere. According to the current draft, the Federal budget will total 21,000 billion dinars, which is 160 percent more than the rebalanced budget for this year. The acceptance of this draft today was preceded by a short discussion during which it was stated that no one's rights to resources from the budget can remain unaffected in the current crisis.

Bearing in mind yesterday's session of the LCY Central Committee, the delegates requested that the FEC state when it will finally present an anti-inflationary budget, without which there can be no real unburdening of the economy nor real anti-inflation policy. [passage omitted]

To Be Adopted by Year's End

AU1312111988 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 13 Dec 88

[Text] The SFRY Assembly Federal Chamber has adopted the draft federal budget for next year which estimates federal expenses at about 20,900 billion dinars. The delegates have obliged the FEC to formulate the proposed budget for next year as soon as possible so that it can be adopted by the end of the year.

At the beginning of the session, the delegates observed a minute's silence to show their respects to the 7-member crew of our airplane who died yesterday near Yerevan. The Yugoslav airplane was taking Yugoslav aid to the earthquake-hit region.

Zarkovic Addresses Zagreb Political Aktiv

LD0812235288 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2029 GMT 8 Dec 88

[Text] Zagreb, 8 Dec (TANJUG) Although prepared and held in highly unfavorable social circumstances, the 17th LCY Central Committee session realized its goals successfully, above all because on this occasion the Central Committee strongly reaffirmed the stands of the LCY conference according to which the three reforms and the stabilization of the situation in Kosovo were defined as the main tasks in whose realization all the subjective forces of society should be involved, because their realization is the main way out of the crisis. Unfortunately, these stands of the LCY Conference were suppressed almost immediately after its end.

Having established at that session the precise concrete stands on the basic content of the reforms and guidelines for solving these most important problems in society, the Central Committee greatly contributed to the consolidation of unity in the LCY. The Central Committee managed at that session to produce, based on democratic principles, the Yugoslav synthesis of the LCY policy with regard to these and other topical questions.

This was stated by Vidoje Zarkovic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, speaking this evening at the political aktiv of Zagreb on the current economic and social and political situation in the country and the tasks of the LC.

At the same time Zarkovic replied to numerous questions asked by members of the most numerous LC organization in Croatia.

Kosovo Youth Group Dismisses 3 From Presidium

LD1212210788 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1717 GMT 12 Dec 88

[Text] Pristina, 12 Dec (TANJUG)—At a session of the Provincial Conference of the Socialist Youth Federation of Kosovo today, three members of the organization's Presidium were dismissed due to their insufficient efforts and passivity. They are Valjbona Peku, who had previously offered her resignation because of family reasons; Mustafa Ljustaku; and Goran Radulovic.

Delegates of the Provincial Conference of the Socialist Youth Federation of Kosovo did not accept the proposal that Ziza Barjaktari should be relieved from membership of the Presidium of the Socialist Youth Federation of Kosovo because not enough effort was put into the work of this organ. Zurafete Asani, Imer Hadzijasic, and Danus Kamberi are relieved of the duty of delegates in the Kosovo SAWP Provincial Conference. Asim Sahiti will no longer be a delegate to the Socialist Youth Federation of Yugoslavia. Dragan Strugar is relieved of the duty of delegate to the Republican Conference of the Socialist Youth Federation of Serbia and its Presidium.

These withdrawls and releases, as explained today, are the result of implementing the conclusions of the 17th session of the LCY Central Committee on the need for cadre renewal in organs and forums in Kosovo.

Delegates of the Provincial Conference of the Socialist Youth Federation of Kosovo were acquainted with the report and preliminary assessment of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee in connection with the recent mass protests and demonstrations of members of the Albanian nationality. The report was acknowledged and no discussion was held on it.

Commentary on Different Views of Pristina Event

AU0912133088 Novi Sad DNEVNIK in Serbo-Croatian 27 Nov 88

[Bogdan Cetnik commentary: "Our Snows and Helmets"]

[Text] "We may give our lives, but we will not give Kosovo." Apart from the ones supporting Yugoslavia, Tito, and the LCY, this was the only slogan that was common to the numerous meetings of solidarity with Serbs and Montenegrins and the recent demonstrations of ethnic Albanians in Pristina.

There was only one slogan, but it was enough to frighten all those who do not want to shoot or do not want to be shot at; people who support effective and resolute, albeit milder solutions. The same applies to the slogans "We will go to Kosovo" (not to mention "Gusle" [reference to the slogan that was first heard at 18 September Niksic meeting as "We want Russians" and then interpreted by local authorities as being in fact "We want gusle," a one-string folk instrument] at all) and the one heard in the snow-covered Pristina recently and, which is even worse, at Kosovo Polje—"Oath, oath, I have given you my oath that I will give my life for Kosovo."

Everything that has been happening over the past several months in Vojvodina, Serbia, Kosovo, and Montenegro, during several hot Pristina days (with temperatures below zero), at the joint session of the Serbian Presidency and the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium, at the 3-day conference of the LC of Serbia, and at the session of the LCY Central Committee Presidium is a reason to make several assessments some of which had better not be true.

This applies in particular to the first assessment based on the slogan in which everybody offers their lives, and it is well-known what such offers can lead to. Would it not be easier instead of offering one's life for Kosovo to offer to kick out all these people who have made Kosovo what it is now, who are still doing nothing to change the situation, and even if they do something then in such a way that the situation can only get worse. Could one not finally apply that what is written in the Constitution—the Constitution such as it is—and make those people who are paid to do their jobs and to treat politics not only as their hobby, above all state organs and many others, really do their jobs?

And it is true that they have not been doing their jobs for years or, if at all, doing them in the wrong way. Just as it is true that in a legal state—even if it is legal only on paper—a large portion of initiative in solving Kosovo problems had to be taken by two local communities (in Kosovo Polje) who had to become militia, court, the party.... They had to become pilgrims who spoke out on what it was other people's job to speak about and to endure all that they had to endure over recent days—open provocations by Albanian demonstrators whose last stop before Pristina was exactly Kosovo Polje. They have remained silent, but will they do so next time? Or would both sides use "gusle"? And they both promise to if this happens again.

The other assessment causing concern is that Kosovo has still not become an equally Serbian and Yugoslav problem (the fact that it is also the problem of Albanians who live there almost nobody mentions any more). The Serbian Presidency and the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium presented their assessment of the latest Kosovo events at the Serbian LC conference. The assessment of the LCY Central Committee Presidium followed a day later. The first impression is that the two assessments are similar, but that they also differ in some points.

The former document and the tasks proposed along with them are more intensive and seem to be much more specific. The latter makes essentially similar assessments, but presents them in a way that had been used before, more invoking things that had been agreed upon earlier—and what had been agreed upon earlier has been left unrealized—along with the obligation that it will not abandon that what had been agreed upon (and left unrealized) in the future either.

Both assessments were put in the form of an announcement so one cannot say for sure what had been said and demanded at the meetings discussing Kosovo problem and demonstrations there, but it was only in the announcement issued at the joint session of the Serbian Presidency and LC Presidium that one could hear that what was involved were "anti-Serbian and anti-Yugoslav demonstrations," that they were "the crudest pressure against Serbs and Montenegrins and against their safety and security," that what was happening in Pristina was "the hitherto most numerous public demonstration of pressures against Serbs and Montenegrins to emigrate from Kosovo," and that everything was worse than it had been in 1981. One of the announcements calls them demonstrations and the other mass gatherings. Our language is certainly rich and offers great possibilities of interpreting the same thing in different ways.

Finally, one should believe what the announcement of the LCY Central Committee Presidium says, that is, that "broader political activity of the organized socialist forces in Kosovo, together with some measures by state organs and direct cooperation between leaderships of the LC of Serbia and the LCY, has contributed to stopping the mass gatherings." There was more of that political activity than ever before and many demonstrators were made go back home immediately after they left their houses. There was more persuasion and conversation, and all that of which there should have been much more of during past years. However, it is a fact that there were also many people (more than in 1981) with whom such persuasions and conversations did not "work," so that things were again as they used to be, that authorities had to speak out, to threaten with batons and all that goes with them, and simply ban any kind of mass gatherings.

This could have been done earlier, because everything was known in advance to the last second—when it was going to snow in Pristina, who would depart from where and what slogans he would shout, who were coordinators, where some of the people would stop and who they would be, where and when one group would take over from another, and even whether one should carry white helmets or not. If nothing else, that is what the LCY Central Committee Presidium should not have overlooked, whoever drafted its announcement. This is because of those people—and, after all, they are the majority in Yugoslavia—who observe all Kosovo events with apprehension and, why not say so, even with fear lest we should all feel the "explosion," or perhaps even more because of those people who still think that Kosovo is some kind of Garden of Eden where nothing bad can happen.

Commentary on Gorbachev's U.N. Speech

AU1312102088 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 10-11 Dec 88 p 11

[Vlado Teslic commentary in the "Week in the World" column: "Restructuring in the United Nations"]

[Text] If it is true that misfortunes never come alone when they strike a man or a country—as is now confirmed in the case of Soviet Armenia—the same applies to success. After his visit to New York and speech at the United Nations, which was more than merely a speech because it announced the turn of a great power toward world peace and democratization of international relations, Gorbachev presented an example of a statesman, confirming the saying that nothing succeeds like success. This is all the more significant because what is involved is the "eternal" subject of disarmament in which eternal losers follow one after another.

We can recall many suspicions and reservations that have remained, even after the historic agreement between the two superpowers on eliminating a branch of nuclear arms, an agreement that has actually cut a swath through entire military doctrines and "deterrence" strategies, that is, concepts of bloc confrontation, even if it has not invalidated them. The suspicions have mostly been expressed about Soviet advantage in conventional (classic) armament; about the number of troops, tanks, artillery pieces, and planes deployed in East European countries; and the ability and even the purpose of cutting deep into the heart of Western Europe which were attributed to them.

An entire military strategy, along with new armament end even new bloc confrontations and hegemonist policy, was built upon this basis in recent years. However, now that Gorbachev has announced that the USSR will unilaterally withdraw half a million soldiers along with their respective armament, classical military doctrines and strategies of bloc confrontations have come to an end. If Soviet armies are being withdrawn and dissolved, then relations in the political sphere, in Europe in particular, are changing and conditions are automatically being created for something that was impossible for over 40 years—that the "iron curtain" between Western and Eastern Europe is abolished and that these two parts of Europe are freed from the hegemonism of great powers and able to reaffirm themselves as independent sovereign states.

Europe

One should not wonder much about the surprise and even astonishment of a section of the Western public and sort of cry uttered in a prominent newspaper about being confronted with new realities in relations within Europe, with the future of Germany, for instance, and that in the light of what has happened, as well as what may happen.

The main preoccupation of Western Europe and probably Eastern Europe as well, even during the intensive deployment of Euromissiles, has been the Soviet Army with its armored divisions and infantry. It is so not only because these forces, unlike nuclear forces and arsenals, were more visible and omnipresent, but also because of the psychological imprint that this army has left by occupying Berlin and staying there. What is also involved is a special kind of historical complex Europeans harbor toward armies bent on conquest that had marched across our continent in the past. If it was possible for Napoleon's army or Hitler's army during the World War II, why would it not be possible for the Red Army, even after Stalin? After all, all military doctrines of closing and securing many possible "open doors" for the Red Army to force its way into Western Europe, as well as entire deterrence and confrontation strategies within NATO and beyond, are based upon this.

America

If all this falls by the wayside and loses all meaning with the unilateral Soviet withdrawal, then such a reaction was to be expected. Involved here is, among other things, the impressive figure of 0.5 million soldiers, that is, almost twice as much as the total number of American soldiers in Western Europe. The first reaction by NATO military strategists was to say that this is too little and that the Soviet Union would have to reduce its armed forces much more in order to establish parity. However, one gets the impression that this reaction is much more an expression of desire to stall for time, than of conviction, and that the West lacks the right answer to Soviet challenges in disarmament, even the right answers about the political future of Europe.

Of course, much depends on American stances and policy.

Gorbachev was sufficiently wise not to forget America in his New Year's "gift package" offering it the continuation of negotiations and agreements on nuclear disarmament, that is, greater security at a lower cost and bravely entering the sphere of human rights and democracy, which the Americans recently set as a condition for greater cooperation and which they used as a means of pressure against the USSR.

Initial American reactions are mainly positive, particularly ones by President Reagan who sees all this as also being to his personal credit. However, these reactions are far from being unanimous or completely positive. This is also manifested by Bush's carefulness and Shultz's intervention in Brussels, when he mainly warned his partners and allies to remain reserved and not to assume political obligations.

According to American military and political strategists, including those around the president-elect, nothing can and must be changed in the Western strategy. True, nobody is against the policy of negotiations with the USSR, but the position of force is always insisted upon. In other words, everything that is happening in the USSR, including "perestroyka" [Russian word for "restructuring" used throughout the item] is the result of American strategy and the policy from the position of force and leads toward the further weakening of the USSR and the strengthening of the United States and the West. Therefore, according to American views, European partners would make a strategic mistake if they let Gorbachev and "perestroyka" estrange them from the Americans and even from NATO as the basis of their security.

The other section of the American public, including the more influential one in the Senate, has got in Gorbachev a strong support for its old demands for the reduction of defense costs. One should bear in mind that over one-half of the U.S. military budget goes to NATO and that the huge military costs are the main obstacle to balancing the budget. As Senator Moynihan has put it, now we know where to reduce.

On the other hand, if psychological tension is so important in politics, for Americans this could apply to the challenges of "perestroyka" and glasnost in the so-called human sphere. Therefore, if Gorbachev matches Russians and Americans in the arena of human rights, freedoms and democracy and provides so much proof of doing so, and that is what American propaganda and Reagan himself have insisted on so much over past years, there is no reason to continue the old ideological campaign, various economic restrictions, and political reserves.

UN Organization

While the Americans and their partners are reexamining, weighing and evaluating the Soviet leader's gifts, which can no longer be treated as a "Trojan horse," the United

Nations has probably received the most precious gift since its foundation, and perhaps since Churchill's and Roosevelt's Atlantic Charter. If various of Gorbachev's ideas in the past have laid the foundation for the "European home," then one could say that various ideas and suggestions about the modernization of the world organization contribute much to the UN Organization as a common, more hospitable, and more secure home for all countries and nations.

This is not only because UN jurisdiction has been extended to ecology or space exploration, but because of a new approach to the UN Organization, which is free from ideologization and politicization. Special attention in this respect is attracted by specific proposals and support for dialogue and agreement between all equal partners, whether in the case of Afghanistan or writing off debts.

The United Nations was conceived as an irreplaceable instrument of world peace and security, that is, democratic cooperation and development, but always had to be satisfied with crumbs in realizing its aims and principles only to find itself recently on the sidelines of international life, due mostly to the rivalry between great powers and their striving toward hegemony. Is there an end to this now, when one of the superpowers returns to the United Nations in such a way, with such programs, and in conformity with the aspirations and realities of the international community in general? This was certainly shown by the applause, such as has not been heard at the UN General Assembly for a long time.

Government Spokesman on Ties With Australia

LD0812231688 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2108 GMT 8 Dec 88

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 8 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia is prepared at any moment to approach normalizing its relations with Australia, if Australia shows an equal amount of willingeness to respect the legitimate Yugoslav interests, Foreign Secretariat Spokesman Ivo Vajgl told his regular press conference here on Thursday.

Vajgl recalled that this stand was contained in the Yugoslav Government's note to the Australian Government over the incident on November 27, when some 1,500 pro-Ustasha emigrants demonstrated outside the Yugoslav Consulate General in Sydney.

A group of demonstrators, supporters of the fascist quisling "Independent State of Croatia" set up on Yugoslav territory during World War Two, forced their way into the grounds of the Yugoslav Consulate and attempted to pull down the Yugoslav national flag.

Australian authorities claim that a 16-year old demonstrator was wounded by a consulate security guard who fired a warning shot into the air.

When Belgrade refused to accept the Australian ultimatum to hand over the Guard, Australia closed the Yugoslav Consulate General in Sydney and expelled its staff.

Last Monday Yugoslavia declared three Australian diplomats in Belgrade personae non gratae and gave them a week's notice to leave the country.

The legitimate interests of Yugoslavia are contained in its request for the punishment of those who carried out the terrorist attack on the consulate and for guarantees that the integrity and dignity of its diplomatic missions and representatives in Australia shall in the future be fully observed and normal conditions for their work ensured, explained the Yugoslav Foreign Secretariat spokesman.

Until then, he said, Yugoslavia reserves the right to take all the steps it deems necessary for the protection of its interests. Vajgl also recalled the Australian Government's failure to provide for the security of the Yugoslav consulate in Sydney, which it was obliged to do under the provisions of the Vienna convention.

Commenting on reports about the hampering of talks on cooperation between the national air companies of the two countires, Vajgl said that "economy should not be mixed with politics."

1,000 Protest Australian Consulate Decision

LD1012103788 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0956 GMT 10 Dec 88

[Text] Sidney, 10 Dec (TANJUG)—About 1,000 Yugoslav emigrants gathered today at a protest meeting in Canberra to condemn the barbaric behavior of Ustasha terrorists and the Australian Government's decision to close the Yugoslav Consulate General in Sidney.

The meeting was attended by a large number of emigrants from Adelaide, Melbourne, Sidney, Newcastle, and other places in Australia. Momir Dacic, chairman of the Yugoslav center in Adelaide, whose car was attacked by unknown extremists throwing a molotov cocktail a week ago, spoke at the meeting, He accused the Australian authorities of having a tolerant attitude toward the Ustasha extremists, which led to the incident and the closure of the Sidney consulate.

Federal Assembly Discusses Consulate Incidents

LD1212223188 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2108 GMT 12 Dec 88

[Text] Belgrade, December 12 (TANJUG)—The pro-fascist Yugoslav emigration's attack on the Yugoslav flag, physical assault on the consul general and threat to penetrate the consultate are violations of the Vienna Convention on protecting consular missions and their staff, Deputy Foreign Secretary Milivoje Maksic told the Federal Assembly today.

Maksic said Australia had not yet provided a reliable answer to the key question: Why Australian authorities have a favorable stand towards the pro-fascist emigration.

The Yugoslav Consultate staff behaved decisively and courageously, the Assembly Foreign Policy Committee said in a discussion on current foreign policy trends.

Asked whether expulsion as a retaliatory measure was neccesary, in regard to the Yugoslav authorities' decision on three Australian diplomats in Belgrade, Maksic said every state had to preserve its reputation and interests and that, in that sense, the step was not uncustomary.

Maksic told the assembly that Yugoslavia's Canberra Embassy will be reinforced with consular staff, charged with taking care of the interests of Yugoslav immigrants in New South Wales, the Sydney area.

In regard to the arrest of the Yugoslav Consul General in Chicago on charges of laundering 1.5 million illegally-acquired dollars, Maksic said the case was still under investigation and that no assessment should be made until the court has its say.

He said there were no significantly new elements in the case but that it will be difficult for a whole team of investigators to establish the truth.

Maksic said the Yugoslav Foreign Affairs Secretariat will protect the post of the consul general at the same time offering legal and other aid to Consul Bahrudin Bjedic in the same way it would for any other Yugoslav citizen.

Three Expelled Diplomats Depart Yugoslavia

BK1212073688 Melbourne Overseas Service in English 0500 GMT 12 Dec 88

[Text] Three Australian diplomats and their families have left the Yugoslav capital, Belgrade, after being expelled by the government.

The expulsions were ordered after the Australian Government ordered the closure of the Yugoslav Consulate in Sydney and the expulsion of its staff following a shooting incident outside the building. The closure of the consulate was ordered after the Yugoslav authorities refused to hand over a security guard accused of shooting a teen-aged member of Australia's Croatian community during a demonstration.

A spokesman for the Australian Embassy in Belgrade has said the expulsion of the Australian diplomats would result in delays in processing of applications for visas from Yugoslav citizens wanting to visit Australia.

Mikulic Receives Sydney Consulate Staff

AU1212195788 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 10-11 Dec 88 p 16

[TANJUG report: "You Did Your Job Well"]

[Text] Belgrade, 9 Dec (TANJUG)—"You did your job well. You bravely defended the Yugoslav flag and protected the honor and dignity of the country." This was stated by Branko Mikulic, president of the FEC, who welcomed the staff of the Sydney Yugoslav Consulate, Consul General Stanojlo Glisic, and security officer Zoran Matijas.

The President of the FEC was interested in the health and well-being of the members of the Sydney Consulate and their families saying that all of Yugoslavia was carefully and anxiously following the experience that they went through.

Consul General Glisic said that "after an actual siege of the consulate, the Yugoslavs who returned from Sydney are enormously relieved that they are back home." He once again explained the chronology of events stressing in particular that the Sydney police were informed in advance and on several occasions about a possibility that the demonstrations could be dangerous and that despite this, the police did not undertake resolute or sufficient measures to protect the Yugoslav Consulate and its staff. According to him, the police did not draw the right conclusions from the fact that the Ustasha demonstrations were preceeded by Chetnik demonstrations and that in the past many of these demonstrations were dangerous.

Branko Mikulic, president of the FEC, recalled that during his visit to Yugoslavia last year, Australian Prime Minister Robert Hawke gave assurances that the Australian Government will not tolerate any terrorist activities of small hostile emigrant groups.

At the reception for Glisic and Matijas organized by the president of the FEC, it was observed that such assurances were in sharp contrast with the behavior of the Australian authorities in Sydney and that there was a complete lack of security for the officials of the Yugoslav Consulate in this town. According to the host and guests, the free activities of hostile emigrants in Australia are damaging the development of the two countries' relations, which is, as was stated, the aim of their activities.

Congratulating once more the members of the consulate on their brave and dignified behavior, the president of the FEC said that Yugoslavia certainly wants to develop useful and good relations with all countries, including Australia, but only on the basis of full respect and consideration of its honor and reputation.

Chicago Consul General Not Facing Spy Charges

AU1312102388 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian
9 Dec 88 p 6

[Dusan Zupan report: "Dilettantes or Provocateurs"]

[Text] Washington, 8 Dec—The entangled affair involving a Yugoslav diplomat and a banker of the U.S. branch of the Bank of Ljubljana is nowhere near being resolved.

At present it is certain that Consul General Bahrudin Bijedic and Vinko Mir, head of the New York subsidiary of the Bank of Ljubljana, are accused of taking part in "laundering money." The total amount of money involved is $1.5 million and it is now known that—if one is to believe to the suit filed in the Philadelphia Court—the money was "laundered" in Bermuda, New York, and Zagreb.

The "laundering" of illicit money is not unknown in the United States or some other capitalist countries, whether the money comes from crime or tax evaders. In this case, as claimed here, the money came from agents-provocateurs who provided the accused with amounts of state money, informing them that the money was illegal.

If this is indeed the case—and this is stated in a statement and the suit—why did the U.S. state organizations deliberately entice Bijedic and Mir to break the law? Bijedic stated in the court that he was innocent. The subsidiary of the Bank of Ljubljana also stated that it had conducted its affairs properly. The truth will be established in the court, but it will be difficult to establish why this enticement was arranged in the first place.

According to one assumption, the whole affair centers around two U.S. citizens, Hubert Cole and Vjekoslav Spanjol, who are also accused of spying.

Bijedic knew both of them; he was even friendly with Spanjol who, as is alleged, introduced himself as a businessmen who wanted to invest in Yugoslavia. However, nobody is accusing the consul general of spying. In whose interest was it to entice Bijedic with "laundering money?" There is no motive if it is officially claimed that Yugoslavia and the United States have good, friendly relations.

The situation concerning Mir and Bijedic is also unclear because it is not the usual case that the police of one country, particularly a friendly country, are involved in checking the honesty of other people in ways which would, in an extreme case, prompt foreigners to break the law.

According to the news from Philadelphia, Cole was particularly willing to talk. He said, according to the state prosecutor, that he would even be able to find the plans for the famous U.S. fighter plane, the F-16, among the data found in garbage bins of one of the U.S. military suppliers.

This does not sound serious, but appears ridiculous, although the investigators and the state prosecutor do not seem to share this view.

This enticement with money will not cost the United States anything because the agents allegedly provided the money. The money went both ways and ended up where it originated. If nothing had happened to the money, many things have happened to the individuals involved and Yugoslavia.

At present, nobody knows, except of course the creators of the whole "Flying Paper Dragon" plan, what the motives for the affair were, affair that obviously had some aim. It is difficult to precisely determine right now whether this involves some groups or individuals who are not pleased with the good relations between the United States and Yugoslavia, or the extreme dilettantism of the U.S. state organizations.

New Assumption

As regards dilettantism, regardless of whether this was a set or necessary action, it is obviously confirmed by the fact that the police did not wait for the money, $2 million, to arrive in Chicago from Philadelphia. Why did the police arrest Bijedic before he had received the money and why did they not wait a little bit longer and have the crowning proof?

What is the role of Cole and Spanjol in all this? Cole was known before as an expert at "laundering money," and was even proud of himself in this respect. There are still no answers to this, but new possible alternatives are being put forward. The question is whether Spanjol and Cole are provocateurs whose task was to find possible cracks in the chain of Yugoslav diplomatic and business offices and representatives. The question of motives is also crucial.

The eyesore among the assumptions about the real background of this case is the coincidence that the affair has become red-hot in Philadelphia at a time when the U.S. Deputy Secretary of State John Whitehead is warmly recommending to his fellow countrymen-businessmen that they invest in Yugoslavia as a country with "excellent business opportunities," and when the State Department is saying that the affair has nothing to do with our country but only with some individuals.

It is well-known that the situation in which the right hand does not know what the left hand is doing can happen in the United States, which is to say that various state institutions have their special prerogatives which could collide. In some cases this could be a stronger side of the U.S. political and state system, but not always.

Air Force Representatives Join Crash Commission

LD1212191188 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1743 GMT 12 Dec 88

[Text] Belgrade, 12 Dec (TANJUG)—In connection with the accident to the AN-12 aircraft belonging to our air forces and antiaircraft defense last night in the vicinity of Yerevan airport, Lieutenant Colonel General Anton Tus, commander of the air force and antiaircraft defense, appointed representatives who will, with the agreement of the appropriate Soviet organs, take part in the work of the Soviet comission which is to examine the causes and circumstances of the accident.

According to the international convention on air traffic, the examination of air accidents is the sole jurisdiction of a state on whose territory the accident happens, which is also in accordance with our law on air traffic.

Major General Angel Oncevski has been selected to lead the group of representatives of the air force and antiaircraft defense.

Pilot Considers Causes for Crash

LD1312014788 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0017 GMT 13 Dec 88

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 12 (TANJUG)—There are speculations that the Yugoslav Air Force transporter plane crash in Armenia may have been caused by a misunderstanding about the aircraft's measuring instruments. The Soviet Union has still not adopted the recommendations of the International Civil Airports Association (ICAA) on pressure measurment, so that there is a possibility of a misunderstanding between the Yugoslav crew and the Soviet flight control in Yerevan, Captain Ljubomir Pavlovic, who flew an Avio-Genex plane back from Yerevan this evening, told TANJUG.

Captain Pavlovic said that a number of plane crashes have already been caused by misunderstanding about pressure measurements—the Soviet plane crash on Mt Avala, another Soviet plane crash in Czechoslovakia and the crash of the Yugoslav Adria Airways plane in Italy.

Captain Pavlovic stated that he talked with the Yugoslav crew in Skopje yesterday before they took off for Yerevan. He said that it should be kept in mind that the crew was very tired, they had been preparing for the flight all day and then had a four-hour flight.

Pavlovic confirmed the reports that the air space above Yerevan was very crowded. The Yerevan Airport is not meant for international flights and is not equipped with up-to-date technical apparatus.

I assume that the airport has now received technical and staff assistance from Moscow and Leningrad, Pavlovic said.

A Yugoslav Avio-Genex plane left Skopje for Yerevan yesteday before the Air Force transporter plane, but returned to Athens due to bad weather. It landed in Yerevan only this morning.

I had no problems during landing, because I frequently fly to the Soviet Union and know the flight conditions there very well, the Avio-Genex plane's pilot said.

Report on Aid to Liberation Movements

LD0812161388 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1042 GMT 8 Dec 88

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, December 8 (TANJUG)—In the course of Yugoslavia's week of solidarity with liberation movements from December 10 to 17 to be started are actions for aid to the movements struggling for the freedom and dignity of their peoples.

Today, at the threshold of the 21st century when a majority of countries are free and independent, there are people from which witheld is their right to live in dignity on their own territories. Starting from this fact, Yugoslavia has been steadily voicing its support and aiding the world's liberation movements, thus making its contribution to the struggle for a more humane world.

The aid going from Yugoslavia, primarily through its Socialist Alliance of the Working People, its nation-wide mass socio-political organisation, to South Africa's African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC), Namibia's Southwest Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO), the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO), Western Sahara's Polisario, El Salvador's Farabundo Marti Liberation Front (FMLN-FDR) and Chilean refugees has various forms. This is a material and humanitarian aid within which, among other things, almost 10,000 parcels with medicaments and medical supplies, 172,000 tins with food and 16 tonnes of flour and sugar have been sent this year.

Another form of aid covers professional training (schooling) for liberation movements' members and medical care for their wounded.

This year, about 300 members of various movements have been trained in Yugoslavia, and over 200 wounded have been treated in Yugoslav hospitals in the past two years.

Spain Reschedules 1.3 Million Peseta Debt

LD0912000188 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1511 GMT 8 Dec 88

[Excerpt] Madrid, 8 Dec (TANJUG)—An agreement has been signed in Madrid on the deferment of the repayment of debt to Spain, of both principal and interest which fall due between 1 April this year and 30 June next year. It is the question of 1.3 billion pesetas' worth of debt which has not yet been rescheduled and also 600 million pesetas of the already rescheduled debt from 1984 to 1986. [passage omitted]